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THE VEDIC MAGAZINE

AND

GURUKULA SAMACHAR.

PRINCIPAL FEATURES.

VEDIC PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION OF A STATE.—
Chamupati M. A.

EVOLUTIQN OF THE STATE.—
Pt. Priyavrata Vidyalankar

DAYANANDA GREATER THAN LUTHER.—
T. L. Vaswani

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THE VEDIC MAGAZINE AND GURUKULA SAMACHAR.

सर्वेषामेव दानानां ब्रह्मदानं विशिष्यते । (मनु०).

"Of all gifts that of Divine knowledge is the highest and the noblest."—Manu.

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VEDIC PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION OF A STATE.

PT. CHAMUPATI M. A.

NOW that a new constitution for the future administration of India is on the anvil—when the draft submitted by the Nehru Committee has been adopted by the All-Parties' Conference with a few minor alterations — it may not be out of place to cast a cursory glance on the old constitutional practice and theories of the Indian people.

The Vedas are the oldest scripture of the Aryans. From of old the belief has been current in this country that they are the primeval scripture of the world. The relations between the rulers and the ruled form one of

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the most interesting themes dealt with in this hoary record of the life and thought of our ancestors. The attention of scholars, both Indian and European, has perforce been attracted to hymns which deal with this absorbing topic. They all unanimously remark that the Raja of the Veda derives his power from the people. Zimmer on page 162 of his 'Altindisches Leben,' Weber on page 189 of Volume xvii of Indische Studien and Bloomfield on page 330 of his 'Hymns of the Atharvaveda' unequivocally observe that in the Veda there are references to the election of Kings. Geldner substitutes acceptance for election (Vedische Studien Vol. II p 303). To Macdonell and Kieth the wording of the verses appears to lend colour to either inference. (Vedic Index Vol. II p. 211). Whatever the actual method adopted, the Raja depends for his security in office, his popularity and success in his administration on the consent of his people. What to accept if there be no offering or proposing of candidates' names? And in the beginning, of which the Vedas profess to be the record, when ruling families had not yet come into existence, the offering or proposing could not but be out of a general lot of possible candidates.

The king has often been called the father of the people. His characterisation as offspring of his subjects is peculiar to the Vedas. The people are called his mother, as it is they that give him birth, as it were, out of their womb, and make him King.

In Yajur Veda. x 7 we read:—

> These are people of common pleasure, of resplendent light, unconquerable, skilled in works and providing (for the king) a cover. The Raja who is the child of these subjects, makes his home in their (hearts) as in that of the greatest of mothers. (1)

And in Atharva Veda xv 9. 1, 2.,

> He goes after the subjects ; the Sabha, the Samiti, the Army and magesty go after him. (2)

In one place you find the people spoken of as the greatest of mothers to the King, in another the King is directed to follow the pleasure of his subjects, as it is then that the Sabha (City Council), the Samiti (the Central Assembly) and all that constitutes his kingship will follow him. These appear to be the fundamental principles on which, as on a foundation, the edifice of the Vedic constitution of a State has been reared.

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१. सधमादो द्युम्ननीराप एता अनाधृष्टा अपस्यो वसानाः ।
पस्त्यासु चक्रे वरुणः सधस्थमपा ꣳ शिशुर्मातृतमास्वन्तः ॥ यजु० १० । ७ ॥
विशो वै पस्त्या विक्षु चक्रे वरुणः प्रतिष्ठां·····अपां वा एष शिशुर्भवति यो राजसूयेन यजति ॥ शतपथ ५ । ३ । ५ । १९ ॥

२. स विशोऽनुव्यचलत् ॥ १ ॥ तं सभा च समितिश्च सेना च सुरा चानुव्यचलन् ॥२॥

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A question which naturally suggests itself to the student of Vedic Polity is how the acceptance or election of the King should, according to the Vedas, actually take place. The Raja addresses to the people in the course of his coronation ceremony a number of verses, one of which may be rendered thus:—

> Of strength art thou the wave that bestoweth sovereignty. Sovereignty on me bestow.
>
> Of strength art thou the host that bestoweth sovereignty. Sovereignty on me bestow. Y. V. x. 2 (1)

The authors of Brahmanas make water the substitute of the people in this ceremony, and address this verse to water. They, however, state explicitly that the use of water is only symbolic. (2) The people to them are a sea, a few drops of whose might, sprinkled on the king, make him sovereign ruler. The rite of sprinkling water has gone to other countries also. It appears to have originated at the outset in the above vocabulary of the Veda, and the comment thereon of the Brahmanas.

In A. V. iii. 5. 6. 7. the Raja, as he assumes the symbol of kingship, says :—

> They that of us are skilled charioteers, wise artisans, draw them all, thou mighty symbol ! towards me.
>
> They that are rajas, *makers of the raja*, charioteers and heads of villages and towns, draw them all, thou powerful symbol ! towards me. (3).

Two points mentioned in these two verses are worthy of special attention. In verse 6, the Raja appears to be anxious to win the pleasure of the poorest classes of his subjects. These classes are to be his special care. ~~With what naivete he considers himself as one of them, saying, they that of us are~~. In verse 7 a class of men is spoken of simultaneously as "Kings" and "Makers of the King" *rajano rajakrtah*. The phrase "Makers of the King" we find used also in Ramayana, Ayodhya Kanda, LXVII. 2. where on the death of Dasaratha, the question as to who should succeed him in the absence of Ramachandra, who had then started on his exile, forms the subject of discussion. The poet says :—

---

१. वृष्ण ऊर्मिरसि राष्ट्रदा राष्ट्रं मे देहि स्वाहा । वृष्ण ऊर्मिरसि राष्ट्रदा राष्ट्रममुष्मै देहि । वृषसेनोऽसि राष्ट्रदा राष्ट्रं मे देहि स्वाहा । वृषसेनोऽसि राष्ट्रदा राष्ट्रममुष्मै देहि ॥

२. अपां वा एष पतिः.....विशामेवैनं पतिं करोति ॥ शत० ५ । ४ । ११ ॥
मनुष्या वा आपः ॥ शत० ७ । ३ । १ । २० ॥

३. ये धीवानो रथकाराः कर्मारा ये मनीषिणः । उपस्तीन् पर्ण मह्यं त्वं सर्वान् कृण्वभितो जनान् ॥ अथर्व० ३ । ५ । ६ ॥

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As night ended and the sun rose, those twice-born, the *makers of the king*, met in the assembly. (1)

Many were the suggestions made, at the end of which Vasishtha proposed the name of Bharata, and *"makers of the king, rajakartarah"* agreed to make him ruler.

Ere that event, a similar assembly had met on the occasion of choosing Ramachandra as prince-regent. In that assembly

"The Raja called together principal men (*pradhanan*) of his dominion, who lived in different cities and belonged to different principalities. ii. 1. 46" (2)

A little further in this very *Kanda* we read :—

"Having perfectly understood the meaning of Dasaratha who knew both politics and Dharma, the *brahmanas*, heads of the army, and those who had come from cities and principalities, met in council, and said unanimously to the Raja who they knew had become old," ii. 5. 19, 20." (3)

These, then, are "the makers of the raja." They are spoken of in verse 46 of Sarga 1 as principal men—*Pradhanan*, while their appellation in the Veda is "rajanah." They are representatives of their constituencies, and as all the functions of the king are executed with their help and counsel, and again it is they who elect the king, the Veda calls them (virtual) kings—*rajanah* as well as makers of the king—*rajakrtah*. Thus council consists of three sorts of people :—

1. Brahmanas.
2. Heads of the Army.
3. Representatives of villages and principalities.

Heads of the Army are in the Veda called "sutas", charioteers. To understand the significance of this term it may be found of help to remember that Sri Krisna, that celebrated commander of hosts in the time of Mahabharata, served as charioteer to Arjuna, and that the term "Maha-

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ये राजानो राजकृतः सूता ग्रामण्यश्च ये । उपस्तीन् पर्ण० ॥ अथर्व ३ । ५ । ७ ॥

१. व्यतीतायान्तु शर्वर्य्यामादित्यस्योदये ततः । समेत्य राजकर्तारः सभामीयुर्द्विजातयः । अयोध्या० २ । ६७ । २ ।

२. नानानगरवास्तव्यान् पृथग्जानपदानपि । समानिनाय मेदिन्याः प्रधानान् पृथिवीपतिः ॥ अयोध्या० २ । ४६ ॥

३. तस्य धर्मार्थविदुषो भावमाज्ञाय सर्वशः । ब्राह्मणा बलमुख्याश्च पौरजानपदैः सह ॥ समेत्य ते मंत्रयितुं समागतबुद्धयः । ऊचुश्च मनसा ज्ञात्वा वृद्धं दशरथं नृपम् ॥ अयोध्या० २।५।१९ । २० ॥

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rathi" in Samskrit denotes a great warrior. In other words the classes designated in the Vedas as "Suta and Gramani" represent the military and civil sections respectively of the population.

In Atharva Veda iii. 4. 3. the wish is expressed that with the Raja, the mothers and sons of the realm may be in concord.(1) Immediately after this, in verse 4, the physicians and surgeons—*asvinau*, brahmanas and kshatriyas—*mitravarunau* and traders—*marutah*, are enumerated as some of the classes that call him to the throne.(2) These are the intellegentsia of the realm. Their voice is bound in all affairs of the State to be dominant and effectively influential.

Having indicated roughly what classes of men and women take part in the election of the king and then help him with their advice, we shall now see how these "makers of the raja" extend to him the benefit of their ripe counsel. In Atharva Veda vii. 7. 12. the Raja says :—

> Let the Sabha and the Samiti who supplement the raja, help me with their concord. Whomsoever I meet, let him, O fathers ! teach me. On your assembling, let me speak well." (3)

In this verse the Sabha and the Samiti are styled "supplementers of the Raja"—*prajapater duhitarau*. The members of the assemblies are addressed as *fathers*. This appellation continues to be used even now as the title of members of certain modern councils. As indicative of their age, experience, learning, as also of the high importance of the functions they are called upon to perform, the epithet is apposite. One more point worthy of note in the verse is that the Raja approaches the councillors to learn from them. How characteristically humble is this attitude of the king towards the deputies of the people !

His presidential address continues :—

> "Of these that sit (in this house) I take to me the knowledge and glory. Mighty Lord ! make me partaker of the gifts of this

---

१—जायाः पुत्राः सुमनसो भवन्तु०..... ॥ अथर्व. ३ । ४ । ३ ॥

२—अश्विनावाग्रे मित्रावरुणोभा विश्वे देवा मरुतस्त्वा हुवन्तु । अधा०..... ॥ अथर्व. ३ । ४ । ४ ॥

अश्विनौ वै देवानां भिषजौ । ऐ. १. १८ ।

ब्रह्म हि मित्रः । शत. ४१. ४. १० । क्षत्रं वै वरुणः । शत. २. ५. ५. ६ ॥ विशो वै मरुतः ॥ शत. ३. १. १. १७ ॥

३—सभा च मा समितिश्चावतां प्रजापतेर्दुहितरौ संविदाने । येना संगच्छा उप मा स शिक्षाच्चारु वदानि पितरः संगतेषु ॥ अथर्व. ७ । १२ । १ ॥

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whole assembly.3. Your minds that have wandered away, or are taken up with this or that theme, I draw to myself. Let them be occupied with me. 4. (1)

The last verse is a polite injunction on the part of the President that all councillors should attend to him.

At many other places, too, the Raja is mentioned in the Veda in conjunction with the Samiti. In a verse of the Rig Veda, his dependence on it is compared to the dependence of mighty beasts in the forest.

In Atharva Veda iv. 22 the Raja is taught to remain devoted to the Almighty Lord,

"Who has made him the sole ruler of his subjects—the highest of those who rule—"Rajnam uttamam manavanam." 5 (2)

The meaning of this verse is that the king is only the highest of members of the Samiti, who as king-makers are all real rulers. In verse 1 of the same hymn the Raja prays :—

"My opponents make subject to me in the (election) contest." (3)

The word for "contest" in this verse is "ahamuttara" meaning "I am abler." This word cannot manifestly apply to any other struggle except that of election. That the Veda enjoins election as the method of choosing the King is thus clear.

The Veda has laid down a general principle that councillors who are the makers of the Raja are the real rulers of the realm. The Raja knits the various interests of the country together. The councillors are drawn out of both military and civil sections of the population. In Shanti Parva of the Mahabharata we meet with the following allocation of the number of members to different classes of subjects :—

1. 4 Brahmanas, vaidyas and graduates.
2. 8 Kshatriyas, strong and able to fight.
3. 21 Vaishyas, possessed of ample wealth.
4. 3 Sudras, pure and refined.

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१. यथाहं समासीनानां वर्चो विज्ञानमाददे । अस्याः सर्वस्याः संसदो मामिन्द्र भगिनं कृणु ॥ अथर्व. ७ । १२ । ३ ॥
यद्वो मनः परागतं यद्बद्धं इह वेह वा । तद्व आ वर्तयामसि मयि वो रमतां मनः ॥ अथर्व. ७ । १२ । ४ ॥

२. यस्त्वा करदेकवृषं जनानामुत राज्ञामुत्तमं मानवानाम् ॥ अथर्व, ४ । २२ । ५ ॥

३. निरमित्रानक्षणुह्यस्य सर्वस्तान् रन्धयास्मा
अहमक्षरेषु ॥ अथर्व, ४ । २२ । १ ॥

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5. 1 Suta, 50 years old. (1)

The allocation of numbers is here proportionate to the strength of each section of the population. Under the old *varna* system, the Sudras would naturally be the smallest section of the populace. The Brahmanas would in point of numerical strength come next. More numerous than these would be Ksatriyas, while the bulk of the population would naturally be made up of Vaishyas. The Suta represents the army.

In the next verse it is laid down :—

"Out of these, 8 ministers should be chosen, to form the cabinet of the Raja" (2)

In the Artha Shastra of Kautilya we find it laid down that the Raja should be guided by the opinion of the majority of the members of the *Mantri Parishad* (3) which Dr. Mojumdar rightly takes to be a later substitute of the Vedic Samiti. If some of the members be absent, their opinion may be obtained in writing. (4)

In brief we may take the polity of the Veda to take its stand primarily on the village, which in all Indian systems is the unit of administration. In its internal matters every village is autonomous. To the central assembly of the country it sends representatives, who, with the representatives of the Military, and certain other privileged sections of the population, who derive their title to have a special voice in the affairs of the realm from their high learning and gratuitous service, sit in council and choose out of themselves a Raja and give him members of his cabinet. The right to sit in the village assembly seems to belong to all adult citizens. In a prayer of his the Purohita says :—

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१. वक्ष्यामि तु यथामात्यान् यादृशाँश्च करिष्यसि ॥ ६ ॥
चतुरो ब्राह्मणान् वेद्यान् प्रगल्भान् स्नातकान् शुचीन् ।
क्षत्रियांश्च तथा चाष्टौ····· ॥ ७ ॥
वैश्यान्·····एकविंशति संख्यया ।
त्रींश्च शूद्रान्····· ॥ ८ ॥
अष्टभिश्च गुणैर्युक्तं सूतं·····
पञ्चाशद्वर्षवयसं····· ॥ ९ ॥ शान्ति० ८५ अध्याय ॥

२. अष्टानां मन्त्रिणां मध्ये मन्त्रं राजोपधारयेत् ॥ शान्ति, ८५ । ११ ॥

३. Shama Shastri's translation p. 33

४. अनासन्नैः सह पत्रसंप्रेषणेन मंत्रयेत् । Ibid p. 29

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"May the son of the Yajamana when he comes of age,
Yuva, be worthy to sit in the Sabha. Yajur Veda." (1)

Or if the city be too large, election of members will be an indispensable necessity. In that case candidates would be required to be adults. So, too, would be voters.

What place is assigned in this constitution to women is a question that requires separate treatment. Here we can confine ourselves to a few hints only. The position of woman in the Vedic society has been acknowledged by all to have been one of respected equality with man. She is spoken of as the "praised one, the joyous one, one that is light, the unbreakable one, the goddess of knowledge, the great one that has learnt much." Yajur Veda. viii. 43. (2) In chapter xxxviii of the Yajur Veda she is addressed as "the bond of law inviolate." (3) Some of the titles applied to her in verse 43 of Chapter viii noted above are repeated here too. (4) In verse 3 of Chapter xxxiii she is called *Indranya usnisah*, the crest of polity. (5) Vedic polity thus seems to keep woman invariably in the foreground. The Vedic householder, just as he is particular that the priest, *brahmanaspati*, should come to his *Yajna*, takes care also that the lady of the house with sweet silvery speech, *"devi sunrta"* should join him in the performance. [Yajur Veda xxxvii 7] (6) She who was the equal partner of her husband in the social and religious concerns of his life could not have left him alone only in the council hall. In Atharva Veda xii 3. 52 the two spouses make expiation for lies spoken among other places in the assembly— *Samiti.*, whence it is clear that women are entitled to go to the assembly. (7) Hymn 4 of Book iii of the Atharva Veda is considered to have for its subject the election of a king. Among electors presumably are mentioned *Jayah*, women,

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१. सभेयो युवास्य यजमानस्य वीरो जायताम् । यजु०

२. इडे रन्ते हव्ये काम्ये चन्द्रे ज्योते ऽदिते सरस्वति महि विश्रुति ।
एता ते ऽग्ने नामानि देवेभ्यो मा सुकृतं ब्रूतात् ॥ यजु० ८ । ४३ ॥

३. अदित्यै रास्नासि— ॥ यजु० ३८ । १ ॥

४. इड एह्यदित एहि सरस्वत्येहि । यजु. ३८ । २ ॥

५. आदित्यै रास्नासीन्द्राण्या उष्णीषः । यजु० ३८ । १ ॥

६. प्रैतु ब्रह्मणस्पतिः प्र देव्येतु सुनृता । यजु० ३७ । ७ ॥

७. यदक्षेषु वदा यत् समित्यां यद्वा वदा अनृतं वित्तकाम्या । समानं तन्तुमभिसंवसानौ
तस्मिन्त्सर्वं शमलं सादयाथः ॥ अथर्व० १२ । ३ । ५१ ॥

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who, it is desired, should be of one mind witht he king-elect. (1) Maternal concerns may not leave women time for that busy and worried participation in the administrative and political affairs of the state, which men, free from the cares of conceiving and bringing up children, should reserve practically for themselves. But that they should be interested in the corporate activities of the state and that their inerests should be adequately looked after seems to be clearly emphasised in this verse. The verse preceding it above viz. Atharva Veda xii. 3. 52 appears to point to the practice of returning women to the assembly. A lovely title frequently applied in the Veda to women is *Purandhih*, meaning the "support of civic life". This appellation puts the position of women in Vedic polity in a nutshell.

This kind of constitution, of which the fundamentals seem to have been laid down in the Vedas, has in an applied and developed form, continued to be in vogue up to comparatively very recent times in the history of India. Mahatma Buddha organised his Sangha on democratic principles in imitation professedly of the system of administration in vogue in the States of those days. (2) In ancient inscriptions of which copies have been obtained and collections of these made in the epigraphical records of India we come across not only cursory and occasional hints as regards the existence of Sabhas but sometimes also a detailed description of the qualifications of voters and candidates and the process of election followed. (3) Greek writers, too, who came to India, and made personal observation of the working of the administrative systems of this country, mention States that were being governed on republican and democratic lines. (4)

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१. जायाः पुत्राः सुमनसो भवन्तु ॥ अथर्व० ३ । ४ । ३ ॥

२. महापरिनिब्बान सुत्त० translated in S. B. E. Vol xi pp. 3-4

3. For instance Government Epigraphist's Report 1495 p. 23 where in an inscription of Uttamallur the extent of land and the amount of Vedic learing which a candidate should possess, is specified, and the method of writing on tickets the names of candidates and the solemn ceremony which attended the process of determining which of these were successful are described in detail.

4. Vide Arrian's India, Mc Crindle's translation p. 203, p. 232 ; and Megasthenes, Mc-Crindle's translation pp. 143-144, and p. 156.

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Democracy therefore, is nothing foreign to the genius of the Indian people. The framers of the draft constitution which the All-Parties' Conference has just approved have done well in keeping before them the constitutions of self-governing countries of modern days. It would not have been amiss on their part to have studied side by side with these the ancient constitutional practice of India. Two very important peculiarities of the Vedic constitution of a state are (1) that the place of a king in it is that simply of the highest member of the assembly, and (2) that every village and town has complete autonomy in its local management, and thus internally free, it forms an organic part of the body-politic of the whole country.

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YOUNG INDIA AND THE COMING RENAISSANCE†

By T. L. Vaswani.

YOU have chosen for the chair a man who is a lover of silence and seclusion. I believe that in silence is strength. And I have breathed out, again and again, an aspiration that I may have the strength to speak without words. I feel grateful that you have given me a corner in the temple of your hearts. What have I done to deserve it? I only know that I come to you with nothing but love in my heart,—love and faith. I love the students. I love the young. I have faith in them. The nation of tomorrow is being made not in the paper-resolutions of our Conferences and Councils but in the deep, silent resolves of some among the students of to-day.

You and such as you in different parts of India I salute as the

Builders of Tomorrow.

The pupils of Socrates, the Yogi, generated forces which shaped the thought and life of Europe. The young men who rallied round Mazzini and Garibaldi gave a new life to their nation long before Mussolini and his Black Shirts arose to rebuild a New United Italy. Wesley and Whitefiled, students of the "Holy Club", initiated a Revival which, in the words of the English historian, Green, "changed the whole tone of English society." Buddha and Shankar! Each was a youngman

† Being the Presidential Address by T.L. Vaswani at the 21st session of the Behari Students' Conference, held at Motihari on 14th and 15th October.

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when he started on his world-mission. Each awakened India to a new life. The young have been the saviours, the saviours of societies and nations. Somewhere is given a pretty legend. It tells of an invisible bell softly swining and sounding a wonderful music. And all who will keep the inner chamber of their hearts open may hear,—the story says,—how the invisible bell rings and sings in holy twilight. My silence and seclusion have been filled with my cries to God : "O Thou of the Ancient days ! Who will lead again India, our Ancient Mother, to the Promised Land ?" And then in the holy darkness of the midnight hour and the holy darkness before the dawn, methinks I have heard an invisible bell ring and sing to me a mighty hope, a mighty faith : "Let not thy heart be sad the nation's youth yet will build,—rebuild,—India into a nation of the Strong,—a nation of the Free !"

In this hope, in this faith, was founded on 18th March, 1927, in holy Hardwar the Order of Young India known as the *Bharat Yuvak Sangha.* My message to you is the message of the *Sangha.* I need your co-operation, your love and blessings in spreading the message of the Sangha in your great Province. The word *Sangha* is significant. It means "*Fellowship.*" The *Sangha* aims at bringing together student centres and youth associations throughout the country into one Fellowship, one

Brotherhood of Service.

The *Sangha* is not identified with any one political party or creed but welcomes all, irrespective of party, creed or caste. Fellowship,—is the essential principle of the *Sangha.*

And its *mantra* is *Shakti !* The nation's urgent need to-day is *shakti, more shakti !* Be strong !—is my earnest appeal to the nation's youth. Inheritors of the ancient past, possessors, too, of the rich revelations of modern silence, you are called to be creators of mighty future. Behold ! the highways of the

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West are strewn with ruins of the present,—ruins of the world-war which was an inevitable result of a cruel industrialism, an aggressive unspiritual nationalism. India and Asia and the West ask for men and women of the New Spirit,—ask for new creators, for them that would build a new brotherly Civilisation,—a new Divine Humanity.

Be creative !

Be not imitative ! A new Creation is the call of the Spirit of the Future. A new creation,—not imitation ! *Shakti* is creative. Imitation is,—weakness. If you are to go forward, release the creative *shakti* within you. Swaraj, true *swaraj*, —is born of *Shakti*, not imitation of this Western cult or that. For all imitation is emasculation ; and India has a genius, an individuality, a soul of her own. To that must she be true if she would re-arise and go again upon her great mission to Humanity. Not imitation but creative renovation, —is the task to which the youth of India are called.

II

The Bharat Yuvak Sangha is not an imitation of any of the Youth movements in the west. In the Russian youth movement the emphasis is on the traininig of the mind of the Russian youth, S*angha* aims at a synthesis of the physical, mental, moral and spiritual. There are certain beautiful features of the Youth experiment in Russia. Young Russia understands the value of the modern. New World-forces are moving on. The spirit of time is moving ; and you must move with it,—or you will be left behind. Young Russia, also, recognises the place of woman in the educational and social reconstructions of life. I said our *mantr*a, our watchword was *Shakti*. Have you forgotten that *Shakti* is symbolised in Hindu scriptures as a woman, as a gracious lady ?

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Woman Represents Shakti.

And the *Shakti* of India will not be released until the Indian woman comes to her own and secures her honoured place in the life of the country. Russia, too, has introduced self-government in schools and colleges. The teachers do not punish their pupils. If a student does wrong, his case is referred to a committee of students. No external discipline will help ; it is only self-imposed discipline which makes for creative selfrealisation,—the divine purpose of life. But whereas youth organisations in Russia attempt at eliminating religion, the Bharat Yuvak Sangha believes profoundly in a spiritual conception of life. Religion, indeed, is an important element in the life of India and is essential, I believe, to the building up of a new social order, a new civilisation, a new Humanity. Only, we must not confound religion withsectarianism. The Russian Youth Movement has given ear to the great German thinker who makes the bold declaration : "I say unto you,—God is dead !" The *Sangha* movement turns to the Rishi whose world to every student who sought admission to the ashramas was : "I commit these to Heaven and Earth ! Sons of the Earth, ye also, are—ye *essentially* are,—sons of Heaven !" This teaching of the great Rishis of the ancient and modern times is proclaimed by the Bharat Yuvak Sangha. You belong to Heaven and Earth,—to the whole earth ! You belong to Humanity ! You belong to God ! You do not belong merely to one little community or class, nor are you of one nation exclusively; you belong to Humanity.

You Belong To The All !

You are of the *Atman*. Eternal Self !

The youth movement organised by Benito Mussolini has done much for Italy. Mussolini I regard as second to none

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among living men of action. A wonderful story this,–of Mussolini's life and activities. A blacksmith's son, a schoolmaster, a journalist; he had to wander for some time as an exile, eking out his livelihood by working as bricklayer in Switzerland. He fought in the world-war. He came out of it with dreams shattered. Disillusioned but not disheartened, he worked in right earnest to build a band of young men. They are mostly from the so-called "lower classes." Wonderful was,–is,–the patriotism of young Italy. Significant was the "Oath" which Athenian young men took—the "Oath of Solon." Not less significant is the Oath of the Fasciti; it runs thus :—

By the blood of our 2000 martyrs whom we invoke as witnesses and judges of our action, we swear that for one year we will not wear on our persons any gold, silver, or other precious metals or stones. We will work ardently without pay for the good of our country. We will give all superfluous ornaments to funds for supporting enterprises having goodness, civilisation beauty and civic improvement as their object.

Self-confidence is their spirit, Self-reliance is a teaching given to members of the *Sangha*. Its motto is : *Shakti* ! More *Shakti* ! The motto of Fascism is:–

"Our Country and not Ourselves"

But whereas Fascism is essentially Roman in its conception of life, the *Sangha* is inspired by the ideals of India's Rishis. Mussolini's band of Black Shirts was organised for war. The *Sangha* aims at organising the youth of India for no military fighting purpose but for constructive service and a new renaissance.

Perhaps the best known of the youth movements "Wander Vogel" (the "Wandering Birds"),—a beautiful name chosen by the youth who longed to escape the conventions and restraints of society and breathe a new air of freedom. It is signi-

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ficant to note that the "Wander Vogel" was founded by a Berlin sixth-form boy named Karl Fischer. He felt that his school was a prison. He wished to escape into the open: he desired to study German folk-songs. The "Wander Vogel" was inspired by a noble, cultural motive. Soon the movement was split up into several groups. Some years later was founded another youth organisation named the "Pathfinders." Its emphasis was on military virtue and held up before young men tht soldier's ideal. Some years later a "New Pathfinders" association was started; it was anti-militarist. Recently, there have been started other youth movements which can hardly be distinguished from "Sports," "Athletics" movements. The many youth associations into which the German Youth Movement has been split up is an indication of German individualism.

Some weeks ago the youth organisations of the Workers' Party refused to participate in the "Youth Festival" of Germans because a section of the German Athletes, Association in Silesia had some time ago erected a movement to the ex-Kaiser! Modern India, too, suffers from over-individualism; and the danger ahead of the Indian Youth Movement is a similar danger of split. Individualism tends to break into revolt. And a number of Youth movements in the West, it is true, are movements of revolt. The emphasis in the *Sangha* is not on revolt but rebirth, not revolt but Renaissance The *Sangha* is meant to be essentially

a Movement of Renaissance.

It has a note of protest against dead customs and creeds, against conventions which repress and insincerities which stifle the soul. But the movement is not essentially one of revolt or rebellion. It is easy to understand why in the West they want to break away from creeds and traditions; for creeds of

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the churches are in conflict with the new spirit of science. In India the truth has been taught, again and again, that there is no conflict between religion and science. Religion is the science of God. The Hindu scriptures refer to religion as *Brahmavidya*. Here in India, then, you need not break away from the Ancient wisdom but should understand and appreciate and apply to modern conditions the spirit of culture and nature-communion and inwardness and idealism which made India young and vital in the long ago. Stifling customs must go. But national traditions have a value in educating the people. Evolution transcends, and therefore, absorbs but does not repudiate values of the past. To understand our ancient past is to build for the Future.

I want the Indian Youth Movement to be an expression of India's own Ideals, India's genius, India's individuality. The German Youth Movemnt has a number of beautiful features such as love of simplicity, sense of discipline, institution of excursions, inspired by a patriotic spirit of service of the village. Do not forget that the same German Movement is developing a dangerous tendency. In Germany they talk of "the cult of the naked." Many young Germans are "naked culture" enthusiasts and see no use for clothes. Young men and women may be seen naked bathing together in the lakes and without a stitch of clothing, making themselves "happy" on the shores and in the forests. These young enthusiastic advocates of the "cult of the nude" even urge that nakedness adds to beauty! The cult of the naked is becoming dangerously popular with The German Youth Movement. The Bharat Yuvak Sangha emphasises the ancient Ideal of Brahmacharya. I wish to see the Indian Youth Movement built in the spirit and ideal of Brahmacharya. "Youth Renaissance" then is the word I use,—not "Youth Revolt" And, be it remembered,

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that by Youth Renaissance I mean no mere revival. Man is creative.

Youth is Shakti.

Youth is the Energy of Renewal. Inheriting the wisdom of the Rishis, inspired by Indian Ideals, work together to help in building up a New, a Greater India. Open a new epoch in the history of India. The message of the Bharat Yuvak Sangha is essentially a message of creative *shakti*. Sons are ye of the Eternal. Young men have said to me: "We have no money: we are not known; we are weak; what can we do?" And I say to them: You have no money; yes: You are not known; yes: But say not you are weak. A mote may well say, the mighty sun is mine. A note of song may well declare: The Blessed Song of the Lord is mine. A spark may well exclaim, the Flame is mine! In you, young men, are locked up hidden forces! In you slumbers a great *shakti!*

Release it,—set free the hidden forces; and India will thrill from one end to the other. Sons of the Flame are ye! Awaken the hidden fire and fill the waiting world with a new glow. Be creative! "The world belongs to the Energetic"—said Emerson. He was a Rrishi in tune with the ancient Rishis of the East. He voiced anew the Doctrine of *shakti*, when he said:—"The world belongs to the Energetic" Yes,—the world, the new world to be,—New India, New Orient, New Occident,—must incarnate creativeness, a new hope, a new faith, an immense optimism, a new energism. Progress in any line comes from some new awakened *shakti*. Current education has, I humbly submit, failed because it does not wake creative *shakti*. Current education is an imitation. But it makes for keenness, you say? Yes,—the keenness of a sharp knife that cuts and sunders! The nation needs the *shakti* that unifies, binds, and builds. Current education is a

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Cult of Separation.

Look at the English-educated ! What a gulf between them and the great mass ! Current education has, in some measure, sharpened the intellect. But a sharpened intellect that divides us from the village-folk and helps us to trample upon the divinity of the poor and, at best, teaches us wordy 'patriotism", surely, is not a thing to be proud of. The essential thing is not sharpened intellect but a loving heart. Out of it are the great issues of life. An American magazine once portrayed President Wilson as a "great intellectual machine." And Wilson reading that article rightly remarked:—"It is no compliment to me to have said that I am only a highly developed intellectual machine!" In *Ashramas* of the Sangha young men are taught to grow in the life of *shakti*.

This life is one of integration. Body, mind, feeling, will and soul,—all these were brought together in one beautiful synthesis in the day when India was truly great and vital. India fell in the day when the integration was disturbed. Matter was despised; the physical was sundered from the spiritual. Our Youth Movement aims at their re-integration, a synthesis of the physical with the mental, emotional, and spiritual. For matter and spirit are not enemies but modes, phases, of the One *shakti*, the one life. Spirit blesses matter, giving it form and beauty; matter behaves in accord with laws and so expresses mind and, indeed, as in the case of electri city, shines as a symbol of spirit. In the *Shakti Ashramas* of the *Sangha* the importance of physical culture is recognised and young men are taught games, *asanas* and breathing exercises. Personally, I value games more than examinations. The examination machinery grinds small. Age for age, Indian schoolboys are physically inferior to British and American girls ! " There is more in man than

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the breath of his body", said the great seer of science, Darwin. Yes,– man is *more* than the body· But man must take care of his body, or his soul must suffer also. What is true with regard to an individual is true with regard to a nation· And one cannot, at this stage of our national life, emphasise too much the value of

National sports.

In Ireland, thousands attend the Annual Irish athletic exhibitions, and the enthusiasm is great. In Germany the new youth-movement has emphasised the value of outdoor life: and you may see young men and girls climbing up mountains and moving out on excursions walking many miles without being tired. In Japan, games are compulsory not only for students but also for teachers, and students are asked to walk in winters, snow : when they complain that it is very cold, their mothers tell them : "No fire for you ! Run in the sun and be warm :" So are the students of Japan trained in the school of hardness. Indian students, specially when they enter college, have a tendency to soft living. It is time to emphasise that what is needed is education for manhood. Be strong ;—is the motto for the Indian student. Physical discipline is essential to national advance. At the Sunday classes of the Sangha biographies of some of the great ones of history are studied. The heroic is a spiritual principle. The heroic is a creative *shakti*. India has suffered much from false fatalism ; a wrong idea of fate has devitalised the people. "I will take fate by the throat" wrote a great German musician. Young India needs the inspiration of this idea : "I will take fate by the throat." Young India needs to understand the ancient truth that man is essentially creative. To Arjuna who in despondency had thrown down his weapons, Shri Krishna said : "*Uttishtha Parantapa*," "Stand up O, Arjuna !" Shri Krishna's teaching needs to be re-proclaimed to-day :

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"Stand up ! Parantapa !"

With this voice, indeed, is eloquent the life of every hero. We have in one of our Ashramas a Hall ; we call it the "Hall of Heroes." On the walls of this Hall are put up pictures of heroes and sages of different climes and ages. For heroes and sages are not the monoply of India. The West, too, has her *Rishis*. The Ashrama members are asked to develop international outlook and cultivate respect for the sages and saints and heroes of East and West. This international outlook, let me humbly submit, is essential to the New Civilisation which you must help in building. The Shakti Ashrama in Rajpur, indeed, is a school of international contacts. Young men are drawn to it from different parts ; then, we have two gifted American ladies ; and this year we had the previlege of welcoming to the Ashram Prof. E. Horwitz of New York and Dr. Weisl of Austria. The world's hope is not in aggressive nationalism of hate but in a new international vision of the

Family of Nations,

the Brotherhood of man. Let every one of you say : "All the heroes of East and West are mine. Sri Ram is mine but also Abraham Lincoln ; Shri Krishna is mine but also Mohammad ; Buddha is mine but also Jesus ; Guru Gobindsingh is mine but also Garibaldi." In the words of the great English poet, Wordsworth :—

There is
One great society alone on earth :—
The noble living and noble dead.

The *Sangha* believes in the value of modern science. It is a *shastra*, a Scripture of God's revelations to the modern man. The *Sangha* believes, also, in the wisdom of the Rishis. It, too, has a message for the modern world. In our Ashrama at Rajpur the Gita as a scripture of Shakti is studied and lectures are given on Comparative literature and Indian ideals. Indian culture is a

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vehicle of the Spirit of Wisdom. We must not, we cannot, re-write the past. The Spirit of the Ages is creative and we must build an India such as may be greater even than she was in her ancient past. We must build for the future. But just on this account we need the inspiration which comes of knowledge of the periods of vitality in our history. Denmark lay defeated! Then appeared one of her great men, Gruntwig. He started a movement of Folk Schools ; they concentrated on literature of the past and so revitalised the spirit of the people. Our schools and colleges need the inspiration of ancient culture ; am I wrong in speaking of them as prisons ? The Gaelic movement revived the ancient culure of Ireland and so created a new respect for the Irish Nation. A new respect for India will be evoked in the day the world understands the deeper values of Indian culture and Indian ideals. Study them,—I say to the young. Do not be carried away by the glitter and glamour of the baby-civilisations of the West. Bernard Shaw,—an able critic said the other day that Western Civilisation had no future.

Western civilisation is sick.

There is a great German thinker. He has specialised in the philosophy of history. I regard him as the greatest thinker, the profound interpreter in the domain of history. His name is Spengler. He has written a wonderful book and I would ask specially those of my countrymen to read it who are carried away by the glamour of Western civilisation. The name of the book is "The Decay of the West." It is a book which should do good to those who think that India should imitate European countries. The strongest criticism of the view that India can only win her freedom through imitation of Europe may be found in this book by Spengler :—'The Decay of the West.' This one book sums up a library of books. Every para is packed with historical information. I marvel at the man's scholarship. He has compressed the net result of many years' studies and reflections in this one stupendous volume. And he arrives at the significant conclusion :—The

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Civilisation of the West in the decay ! "Winter has set in," says Spengler. A new spring is needed. Yes,—Western civilisation needs a reinforcement, a new vitality, a new *shakti*. European civilisation lies exhausted. I refer to the view of this great interpreter of the philosophy of history in order that you, youngmen, may consider more carefully the problem of India. The problem cannot be solved through imitation. There is another great thinker. His name is Count Keyserling. He has travelled widely. He came to India some time ago ; and he has written several books, one of them being a critical study of the situation in Europe. He, too, holds that Europe is exhausted. His great book 'The Travel Diary of A Philosopher', in two volumes, has chapters inspired by faith in the wisdom of the East. And his book named the "European Spectrum" is a careful criticism of European civilisation. He believes a new light must come again from the East. One of the qualities our Shakti Ashramas seek to develop in young men is self-confidence. Self-confidence, not vanity. For much there is which we must learn of the West. Let us sit at the feet of Europe to study science, technics, organisation ; but let us not sit as beggars. We shall get from the West ; we shall, also, give. An indispensable condition of true internationalism is appreciation of the genius of your own nation. I plead for new integration of your minds with your Community and nation. I ask you to have confidence in your inspiration. The path of imitation is the path of weakness. I want you to be *men*, shakti-men, creative men. Therefore keep clear of Imitation. Inheritors of Bharat-Shakti ! have confidence in the genius of your nation, the individulaity of your country, the personality of your people. For a nation, like an individual, has a personality. Have confidence in the ideals of India. Be true to them in daily life. Understand what is deeper than controversial or constitutional politics,—

the great hidden movement of India's soul

represented by her seers and sages and saints. The notes of this movement,—the truly Indian movement,—are simplicity

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and spirituality. And that word 'spirituality,' I know, is repugnant to a number of my countrymen today. Some have said to me in all seriousness :—"Abolish religion to save India." I do not blame them. Sectarian conflicts have sullied the name of religion. And have not the Bolsheviks abolished Christianity ? Let India follow suit,—argue a number of educated Indians to-day. Many, indeed, of the educated nationalists in India are disciples of the West. And in modern European states religion is largely suppressed. Will India suppress religion ? Yet the remedy of abolishing religion may be worse than the disease. In abolishing religion, you may abolish India itself ! India, I humbly submit, will not follow Europe's way ; the Indian, whether Hindu or Muslim, is essentially a religious animal. It seems to me each community must develop a Religion of Reverence for all prophets and of Service and Patriotism,– saluting India as the one Mother at once of Hindus and Muslims. Hinduism will not surrender to Islam ; Islam will not surrender to Hinduism ; but the orthodoxy of each will undergo radical transformation , and both will teach their devotees that they all are one another's in One God, One Humanity, one Indian nation, and one loving fellowship with the poor. India's saints and poets have, age after age, declared, the One is the God of all, and that His Light shines in all religions and all races. Reverence for all religions and prophets,—is what our *Shakti Asharmas* endeavour to awaken in the hearts of young men. Reverence, not mere tolerance. True reverence which, as Mark Twain said is "respect for another man's God." India's place in the great family of the nations will be determined by the measure of her loyalty to her spiritual idealism, her witness to the divinity of man, her wealth of the wisdom of life. India's leadership will not be of money and exploitation; her leadership will be of service and spiritual idealism. To young men studying in different colleges I say :—Remember that education is essentially the leading forth of the soul and therefore the discipline and development of the soul's vehicles,—the bodily

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senses and emotions and the mind. We live by affirmation, not by negation. God is the deepest affirmation of life. Indeed, the most dynamic part in the history of India is the part played by religion, Nor may you explain the world's history without religion. Bernard Shaw rightly says:—"Civilisation cannot survive without religion." The ancient word *Dharma is* significant. This is how *dharma* is defined in the *Vaisheshika*:—"Yato abhyudaya-nihshreyasa sidhih sa dharma" "what makes for advancement in this world and Attainment in the next,— that is *dharma*." Dharma is

The Law of Advancement and Attainment.

Dharma is *shakti*. Far, then, from asking you to eliminate religion in the name of nationalism, I say to you:— Make love of India a part of your religion. Our nationalism will be purer, richer, nobler, more dynamic in the day we appreciate and act up to the teaching of Shri Krishna to Arjuna:— "Whatever you do, do it unto Me." The national movement in India will be invincible when we shall see in it the urge of a Divine purpose. I plead for a new nationalism,—one which may be inspired by the ideal of spiritual democracy. A bigger and nobler ideal this than the socialist ideal. For socialism builds at best from without, not from within. Socialism does not go deep enough into the root of the creative life of nations. Socialism takes up a section of life,—the economic,—an important section and one we must not neglect. But we must remember, too, that life, in the fundamentals, is a spiritual process. This gives an inner continuity to the life of India, the life of humanity. Young men ! I ask you not to surrender this immortal heritage of India,—the sense of the Atman, the One Eternal Self, the Spirit of creative evolution.

With this sense of the Divine, this appreciation of the genius and ideals of India, this reverence for all religions and prophets and heroes of humanity, take up the

Torch of Service

and go to the village-folk who wait for you. The *sangha* is meant to be essentially a Brotherhood of Service. The *sangha*

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believes that India lives in her villages. The Sangha believes that the nation must be built up from the bottom. The Sangha has a Village Uplift scheme which there is no time to expalin. Hunger, poverty, illiteracy, insanitation have devitalised the village folk. Their health-conscience is weak ; their knowledge of the modern world-forces is *nil* ; their understanding of the Indian ideals is poor; and piteous is their struggle for daily bread. Saviours of the villages are needed. To save them is to save the nation. They are the ancient roots of Indian life and civilisation. An ancient Vedic text says—"The root of the tree maintains the life of its trunk ; so long as there is life in the trunk, the branches bear the foliage. The village is the root of our national life. But we have starved the root. We have trampled upon the claims of the villager. Patriotism is not noise, nor sentimentalism. It is *shakti* we need to win freedom. Therefore I humbly submit that every town, every village should have a Shakti Ashram to bring together some for the service of the poor. Tell them of the value of Indian history and the Indian ideal. Tell them of the growing world forces asking for India's future and India's mission to the nations. In any practical programme for India's freedom, the emphasis, I humbly submit, must be not on "Council debates nor paper resolutions of political or Youth conferences but on inner creative *shakti* expressing itself physically, mentally, morally. Build up healthy strong bodies : use the energy of mind and character in the fruitful channels of co-operative rural re-constructions ; train yourselves in the school of hardness and humility ; and be ready to offer in gladness your very life as a sacrifice to Him who hath sacrificed Himself to nourish the thought and life of Humanity. In a rich, vital, dynamic, spiritual idealism was the secret of India in the days of her greatness. And in high noises of the day, methinks; I hear a voice coming from the Silence, a voice which says:- "Today as of old an inner *shakti* is needed to make the Nation free ! For freedom is a child of *shakti*. Three years

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have passed since I first came to your great Province in Behar. It was my privilege during my stay in Patna then to come in contact with many Beharee youngmen. Rich were they in simplicity and love. Near Patna is the beautiful Fortress of Rajgarh. There did Buddha spend a number of years in meditation on the mystery of Life. And there is a rock-cut place, a cave, named *Sonbhandar* ("Goldstore"). With it is associated a beautiful little story. The story says that within this cave lies hidden plenty of gold, but that none can open the cave—not even the cannon ball, none but Buddha ; for he will come again, according to the traditional tale ; and when he comes again to India's hallowed earth, he will, we are told, visit the Sonbhandar and he will open it and spend the rich treasures of gold lying there for centuries. He will spend them in the service of the poor ; and a new age will then begin. To me this story is a beautiful parable symbolic of a great truth. For in the heart of every one of you, youngmen ! there is a *Sonbhandar*,—a Treasure-house of Love. Open it I say ! Open it and spend the store of your knowledge and love in the service of the poor. And believe me, you that are young will break the Mother's chains. And you will be among the builders who build a mighty temple, the temple of New Liberty !

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A STUDY IN VEDIC POLITY

I

Evolution of the State.

Pt. Priyavrata Vidyalankar.

THE state can not reach its prefection at once. A group of men living together somewhere would not organise a perfect state as instantaneously as a magician with his magic wand produces a mango tree and presents its delicious fruits to the amazing spectator to touch and eat. The state requires time to come into existence and attain its ideal perfection. It grows like a seed and through gradual evolution arrives at its perfection after a long time. In each and every walk of life man obtains perfection only after a long period of gradual development—nowhere does he reach the goal in the twinkling of an eye. This truth holds good in the establishment of an ideal state. Men begin to live together somewhere. Their relations gradually grow complex. This complexity in their relations is due to the increase in population, the widening diversity of fields of activity and the consequent multiplicity of people's interests. Conformably to the stage of development which this complexity in relations has reached, some agency is required to come forward ad undertake to remove the conflict between divergent interests of different parties. This agency may according to the stage of the development of the society be a single individual or a group of individuals, risen by themselves or elected by others. In persons who are not elected but have risen to power by themselves, persons who somehow gain superiority over others and keep them under their control by force of arms, the primary idea is not to smoothen the conflict of interests among men. In them presonal ambition reigns supreme. In order to fulfil their own ambition they have

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also to undertake to smoothen the conflict of intersts in society. That such persons should become the heads of society is but natural and in the fitness of thing at that primary stage of social development. The state gets more and more complex as the society grows more and more complicated, and relations among men become more and more subtle. At last, after a long period of gradual evolution, the state attains to a state of perfection.

The AtharvaVeda viii. 10. teaches how in different spheres of the universe the *virat* or chaotic state changes into cosmos —how perfection is attained in those spheres by a long process of gradual *utkranti* or evolution. The first *paryaya* of 13 verses, of this *hymn* treats of the evolution of the state. It describes the principal stages of its development as follows:—

विराड् वा इदमग्र आसीत्। तस्या जातायाः
सर्वमबिभेदियमेवेदं भविष्यतीति ॥ १ ॥
सोदक्रामत् सा गार्हपत्ये न्यक्रामत् ॥ २ ॥
गृहमेधी गृहपति र्भवति य एवं वेद ॥ ३ ॥
सोदक्रामत् साहवनीये न्यक्रामत् ॥ ४ ॥
यन्त्यस्य देवा देवहूतिं, प्रियो देवानां भवति य एवं वेद ॥ ५ ॥
सोदक्रामत् सा दक्षिणाग्नौ न्यक्रामत् ॥ ६ ॥
यज्ञर्तो दक्षिणीयो वासतेयो भवति य एवं वेद ॥ ७ ॥
सोदक्रामत् सा सभायां न्यक्रामत् ॥ ८ ॥
यन्त्यस्य समां सभ्यो भवति य एवं वेद ॥ ९ ॥
सोदक्रामत् सा समितौ न्यक्रामत् ॥ १० ॥
यन्त्यस्य समितिं सामित्यो भवति य एवं वेद ॥ ११ ॥
सोदक्रामत् सामन्त्रणे न्यक्रामत् ॥ १२ ॥
यन्त्यस्यामन्त्रणमामन्त्रणीयो भवति य एवं वेद ॥ १३ ॥

The first verse says :—"In the beginning there was *virat*. All creatures feared *virat*, lest it should continue for ever." The word *virat* or *viraj* here means, if interepreted in accordance

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with the context, the absence of *raj* or ruler (वि+राज्). * According to the verse in the beginning of creation there was no government or state, no relations of ruler and ruled. In the beginning of creation when only a limited number of men might have been created, such a state of affairs is but natural. The second verse says:—"*virat* (वि+राज्) evolved into *garhapatya*." It means that the *virat* state—the state of absence of any sort of government—could not stay longer; it was folllowed by the *garhapatya* state. In the *virat* state no kind of relations of ruler and ruled existed—all men were scattered, as it were, for want of a social tie. In this chaotic state men were unable to look to and safeguard their interests. To avoid this undesirable state of matters, men began to bind themselves in the relations of wife and husband, father and son, brother and sister etc. Thus they began to look to their interests under the guidance of *grihapati* or the head of the family. The *garhapatya* state thus seems to be the state of the supremacy of the *grihapati*, the family head. † The fourth verse says:—"*Garhapatya* evolved into *ahavaniya*." With increase in population, the number of families, too, went on increasing and their interests became complicated. Those families under their *gripapatis*, began more and more to quarrel with one another. These families gathered together into a kind of *panchayat* and thus managed to protect their interests against other hostile families. This union of families for mutual help seems to be the *ahavaniya* of the verse. ‡ The present day village *panchayats* of India can lend some help in forming the idea of an *ahavaniya*. These *Panchayats*, consisting of family heads, hold

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* विगतो राट् यस्या अवस्थायाः सावस्था विराट् ।

† गृहपतेर्भावो गार्हपत्यम् ।

‡ आहूयन्ते गृहपतयोऽत्रेति आहवनीयम् ।

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their sittings at times for the purpose of quieting mutual disputes of families and finding out means for their progressive welfare. The sixth verse says:— "*Ahavaniya* evolved into *dakshinagni*." After the *ahavaniya* state came the state of *dakshinagni*. To understand the meaning of *dakshinagni* let us study the structure of the word. It is composed of two words *dakshina* and *agni*. *Dakshina* means a clever person. It means also strength or power. Hence the word *dakshina*, which is derived from *daksha*, would mean a clever and strong person. *Agni* [1] means a leader, a chief. Hence the compound word *dakshinagni* would clearly mean a clever and strong chief. With the increase in population the *ahavaniyas* also went on increasing, their interests increasing along with their number. Those *ahavaniyas* began now to quarrel with one another. To suppress these quarrels there a rose some clever and powerful personality who brought several *ahavaniyas* under himself. This is the *dakshinagni* state. The *dakshinagni* state can come to exist in two ways. Either, the a*hananiyas* themselves may elect some clever and powerful individual from amongst the family heads as their chief and decide to follow his leadership in all matters of vital importance, as fighting with other *ahavaniyas* and safeguarding their own interests, *or* some clever and strong person might by the exercse his personal powers bring several *ahavaniyas* under his sceptre and lead them as he chooses. Both these ways are natural. The eighth verse says:— "The state of *dakshinagni* evolved into that of *sabha*." With the increase in population the number of *dakshinagnis* also will go on increasing. The society meanwhile becomes much advanced with respect to trade, commerce and industries. Simply *dakshinagnis* do not now suffice to control the society and keep it in equilibrium.

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१. अग्निः कस्मादग्रणीर्भवति, निरुक्तम् ।

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Some more powerful ruling institution is required to fulfil this purpose. With physical force at its command it should have capacity enough to understand the feelings of different ingredients—constituencies in electoral phraseology—of society. And this is why it is composed of members elected by the society. This institution is called *Sabha*. The *sabhapati* or the head of the *sabha* will be called the *Raja* of the territory under its jurisdiction. The word *sabha* is derived from the root "*bha* to shine" with the *avyaya sa* before it. Hence its literal meaning would be "shining together equally" Thus a *sabha* would be that gathering of men where persons shine together equally, i. e. give vent to their thoughts, inorder to arrive at beneficial decisions unanimously. ‡ Thus the society begins to be governed according to the decisions of the *sabha*. To form an idea of *sabha* we should have before us the modern Legislative Assemblies of the United states of Amercia and India, and the House of Commons of England. The tenth verse says:— "*Sabha* evolved into *Samiti*." *Samiti* seems to be an institution like the Upper Houses of modern Legislatures. The word *Samiti* comes from the root "*in*" to go with the *avyaya sam* before it. Hence its literal meaning is "gathering together of men in an efficient manner." Thus a *samiti* would be that assembly of men, where they gather together in an effecient manner in order to arrive at beneficial decisions unanimously. * *Sam* of the *samiti*, meaning efficiently, indicates that the members of *samiti* should be hersons of higher qualifications than the members of the *sabha*. The constituencies of the members of the Upper Houses of modern Legislatures, as the Senate of United States of America and the Council of State of India, too, are higher

‡ सह भान्ति जना एकनिर्णयार्थं यत्र ।

* सम् सम्यक् यन्ति जना निर्णयार्थं यत्र ।

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than those of the members of the Legislative Assemblies, which in other words means that the Senators or the Councillors are men of higher qualifications than the members of the Assemblies. In a comparatively less complex state of society only one House of Legislature can suffice. But in a highly complex society the second House also is necessary. And thus *samiti* comes after *sabha* as a most requisite institution. The twelfth verse says:—"*samiti* evolved into *amantrana*." *Amantrana* is the final stage of development of the state. *Amantrana* is an institution like the modern League of Nations. The *Amantrana* is required to keep different nationalities in harmony with one another. *Amantrana* means inviting. Different countries are invited to participate in it wherefore it is called *Amantrana*. The *Amantrana* will be dwelt upon in detail later on.*

The first question that suggests itself to a student of Political Science is—how did such a thing as a state come to exist on the earth? Political Science is one of the many subjects that the Vedas teach to humanity. They will teach this Science till the end of the world. The mind of the Vedic student of Political Science will also confront the question as to the method of the appearance of the state on earth The *paryaya* above treated of serves to answer that question by mentioning in a brief but comprehensive manner the principal stages of governmental evolution. At other places the Vedas concern themselves with the ideal state of perfect development.

Some might object here that if the Vedas were vouchsafed to humanity in the beginning of creation to suggest to them the right solutions of all the vital problems of life and if the idea

* The verses 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, and 13 speaks in a commendatory manner (अर्थवादरूपेण) of *garhapatya*, *ahavaniya*, *dakshinagni*, *sabha*, *samiti* and *amantrana* respectively.

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of the state also was set forth in them, how can the gradual evolution of the state inculcated in the *sukta* quoted above be true ? Why did they not establish the ideal state in the very beginning ? The answer to the objection is this : The establishment of the state depends entirely on the development of complexity in the relations of people. In the beginning of creation the number of men was limted consequent and by complexity in the mutual relations of the people was who limited. Even after receiving knowledge of the ideal state through the Vedas they could not establish it owing to the smallness of their number and consequent absence of complexity in their relations. A dozen men living together in a place cannot establish an ideally perfect state, however perfect their knowledge of Political Science may be. They do not feel actuated to establish any state worth the name on account of the smallness of their number and absence of complexity in their relations. The state grows gradually through the stages of *garhapatya* etc, in accordance with the multiplication of the number of people and relatively increasing complexity in their relations and after a long time it attains perfection. And the ideal of a perfect state has been set forth in numerous places in the Vedas as we shall see gradually in the chapters that follow.

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THOUGHTS ON NATIONALISM

By Mrs. Chandrawati Lakhanpal, M. A.

NATIONALISM is a modern phenomenon. The Greeks and the Romans never thought of uniting themselves into a Nation. During the Middle Ages the Cosmopolitan Ideal held sway. The Romans stood for the World-State. The ghost of the Roman Empire ruled over the whole of Europe ; Germany, France, England, Spain—all were under the Romans. There was therefore a sort of political unity, but there was no life. Latin was the language of the Church, Education and Conversation among the big people. There was no such language as English, nor was there yet developed any other popular dialect. The English were powerless to defend themselves even against the neighbouring bands of Scottish marauders. Not in England alone, but everywhere there was a lack of inspiration, a lack of life. But the advent of the 15th century announced the dawn of a New Era and by the end of the century, this wave of 'New Light' had swept over the whole of Europe. During this period we witness many Nationalities arising. In every community there was a National awakening. The result of this National consciousness was that the English first became a Nation. The fear of the English helped the French people in uniting themselves. The pressure of other countries turned Germany, Italy and Russia also into Nations. In the 19th century Turkey had also learnt to feel itself as a separate entity. The same gospel of Nationalism is now being preached in India also. The wave of Nationalism had spread fast over the world. It could not have been checked. The creative energy of people, which had lain dormant in the Dark Ages,

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burst forth suddenly into life on new soils in the period of their Renaissance.

The growth of Nationalism is modern, but its development is old and perfectly natural. It has its root in life. It springs from within. At the outset the existence of different groups of people cannot be denied. The differences of Race, Territory, Language, Religion and Character—all contribute to it. Every one of these promotes its development, though none of them is singly indispensable to its growth. The National sentiment initially rears itself on a Territorial basis. Common Political, and Economic Aspirations develop this feeling further. Nationalism tolerates even the diversity of Religion and flourishes inspite of it, if the latter does not interfere with Politics and Education. And thus it goes on establishing unity in diversity, bringing into prominence the indispensable common interests that go to unite a people and pushing purely private matters of life into the background. Thus Nationalism has evolved itself in other countries with rapid strides. In India the growth of Nationalism is rather slow, for here Religion is proving inimical to the National interests of the country merely because here it is no longer confined to the private life of Man. Then another but a very important Problem viz the Problem of Race confronts India, which it has to solve before it can hope to gain National Unity. 'Her problem is the problem of the world in miniature.' The West has never paid attention to it and when confronted with it, has always tried to make it easy by ignoring it altogether. But India is not so favourably situated as regards the homogeneity of races. It is too vast in its area, and too diverse in its races. The Race Problem is one which she cannot evade ; and as a matter of fact she has realised her responsibility to solve it though it should be admitted that a full measure of success has not yet been achieved in this direction.

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How does Nationalism stand in relation to Internationalism? One is not opposed to the other. Nationalism is, on the other hand, a step towards Internationalism. The former means the perfection of those elements which go to constitute the latter. And the perfection of parts will lead to the perfec- of the whole. The League of Nations was the first attempt towards Internationalism. But it proved a hopeless failure only because of a flaw in the texture of Nationalism itself. Further attempts also are likely to prove futile, if Nationalism has not been established on a sure and sound basis.

Nationalism on right lines becomes a source of immense good to Mankind. Turning to history we find numerous instances showing what a vast amount of liberation it has brought about in the world. What was Turkey before the second half of the 19th century? Merely a geographical'expression? It had no literature. Its history was the history of of its economic degradation. The Balkan States were merely deserts under the subjugation of Turkey. But their Political Freedom meant the regeneration of the whole of their National life. Then it was after becoming a Nation that Germany was able to give lead to the world. The rise of the National Sentiment leads people to unite under a common Government. A Government which is of the people's own making will give them liberty of thought, liberty of speech and liberty of action. In fact the national Government is the surest possible guarantee of peace, order and happiness. It alone works smoothly and peacefully and brings the greatest amount of freedom. Besides, it gives the people ample scope for development on their own characteristic lines, that is to say, for real self-expression. England developed a world Constitutional System and France a unique renowned Requblic. A National Government also helps to bring out the talents of the people. Different people are gifted with different tastes – one has a

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taste for science, another for philosophy, another for art. Similarly different Nations are gifted with different talents which they can develop only if they are given proper scope. Greece enriched the world with her Art and Philosophy. England developed her notable system of Industrial Organization. France gave her Ideals to the world Germany her Science, Holland her painting and Italy gave a Mazzini—the very fountain-source of the Gospel of Nationalism. It is doubtful whether the Civilization of the world, would have been what it is today, had there not been the Sentiment of Nationality.

The last but not the least merit of Nationalism lies in its calling out the best energies of a people. People of one Nation have common interests and common ideals. Naturally they feel themselves as one. Bound by a common tie and inspired by a feeling of unity they would do everything for their countrymen; they would even sacrifice their life for their country. It was this spirit which moved Raleigh and Drake to perform miraculous adventures. It was this again which led Shakespear, Spenser and Milton to soar to the heights of the Impossible. It was behind all the Adventurous Zeal of England. It was at the back of all English Literature. It scarcely contains anything detrimental to the progress of Mankind, nor is it opposed to the spirit of Internationalism. It springs out easily, naturally. It is a step towards Internationalism and a spring from which the Civilization of the world continuously draws its inspiration.

But the picture has another side also. This other aspect of Nationalism is positively unpleasant—even ugly. It is here that Nationalism becomes the source of the greatest evil—an organised system of selfishness and exploitation. But a fine line of demarcation separates Nationalism proper from the

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narrow, fanatic type of Nationalism. In its excess alone Nationalism becomes ugly and contemptible. But anything carried to its extreme would become detrimental. Nationalism, too, if it were to be taken to the extreme limit, might become tyrannical, oppressive and imperialistic. But this defect is curable. Let every country become a Nation and the abuse of Nationalism will disappear. Let there be none to oppress and oppression will cease. A Nation in a real sense cannot be kept under the subjugation of another Nation. The English defeated Germany, but they could not think of annexing it. But in similar circumstances Africa—the country of "No Nation." was annexed. Again Germany could not annex Belgium because the latter was a Nation and Germany knew well the vast strength which the latter possessed. The instance of India is enough to show that the Sentiment of Nationality is life and health of a people and that every country desirous of maintaining its individuality must recognise its immense importance in the world as it is organised to-day. It is clear as daylight that the disadvantages, the insults, the sufferings which fall to India's share to-day, are the penalty she has to pay for not being a Nation. Her salvation lies in her becoming a Nation. She will then claim an equal footing with the other Nations of the world. Then alone she can reveal her hidden glories and then only she can contribute her quota to the civilization of the world and to the progress of humanity.

But the Nationalism which India aims at will be of another type. It will not gloat over the feebleness of its neighhours. Its patriotism will not thrive at the expense of other Nations. It will not be the voice of a thundering cannon sending a thrill of terror into the breasts of the weaker Nations. India's "Nationalism" will be nationalism tempered with a feeling for

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Mankind. It will be a Nationalism which would have regard for the general mass of humanity. This kind of genuine Nationalism is desirable not only for India but for the whole world. A Nation will then serve itself and will also have an ambition to serve Mankind. Itself growing rich, it will let others have the same privilege. When Nationalism will be combined with 'Humanism,' its only abuse will disappear. The ambition to dominate will disappear and with it will also disappear the oppression, exploitation and tyranny of the world. We will then expect peace and happiness and will also expect some International understanding. Nationalism will then undoubtedly be a boon to a country and a blessing to humanity. That will create an atmosphere for Universal Brotherhood in which will our Poet Tagore find the realization of his dreams and Mahatma Gandhi the materialization of his ideals ; that will make all Nations live in peace with themselves and with the rest of the world.

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PATERNAL GOVERNMENT

INDRA VIDYALANKAR

WESTERNERS do not like the idea of paternal government. They find it inconsistent with the ideal of democratic or popular form of government. In their opinion, state should not encroach on the liberty of the individual. It should put least impediments in the way of a person's spontaneous growth and development. It should allow individual enterprises in the field of trade, commerce, industries and other such matters to go on, unchecked and unhindered by any legislative measure. The English people are especially opposed to the doctrine of state-interference. They would not permit their statesmen to persue a policy of protection with regard to their internal and external trade. They maintain that external intervention cripples an individual's power of action and self-improvement. Therefore, it is always wise for a government never to meddle in matters which can be left to individuals, and restrict itself to such national questions as those of colonial or foreign policy, establishment of law and order, education, public health, railways etc. etc.

There are others—anarchists—who wish to annihilate the state altogether. But we are not concerned with them here, as their doctrine is preposterous and foolish on the very face of it and is least entertained by any sane political philosopher.

In ancient India, the conception of the state was altogether different. The Crown was regarded as an embodiment of fatherly, motherly, brotherly, in fact of all family relations to his subjects. He was not only a figure-head as the present-day constitutional monarch of England, he was not even a mechanical official head of a soul-less, red-tape government. Thus we read in Kalika Puran :—

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अपुत्रस्य नृपः पुत्रः, निर्धनस्य धनं नृपः ।
अमातुः जननी राजा, अतातस्य पिता नृपः ॥
अनाथस्य नृपो नाथः, अभर्त्तुः पार्थिवः पतिः ।
अभृत्यस्य नृपो भृत्यो, नृप एव नृणां सखा ॥

That is, 'the king is a son to a sonless father, a father to a fatherless son. He is a son to a sonless mother, a mother to a motherless son. He is a husband to a widow ; he is parents to an orphan. He is a servant to the helpless ; he is riches to the penniless. He alone is the true friend of the people'.

This is a very beautiful summary of the duties and obligations of a king to his subjects. Herein lies the secret of the benevolent monarchy which is so often heard of as prevalent in ancient India. It is a fact that India very seldom witnessed the oppressive terrorism of a Russian Czar or a French Louis. Very rarely did an Indian monarch resort to measures which may be called undemocratic in the present age of civilization.

But why should the idea of paternal government be totally repugnant to supporters of the idea of a democratic government ? Where is the inconsistency in the combination of the two ? Is it impossible—or to use a more modern phrase—is it unconstitutional for a representative form of government to take fatherly interest in the general welfare of the people ?

The writer does not see any reason whatsoever why English or American schools of political thought should find it very difficult to reconcile the idea of paternal government with that of popular government. If a state interferes in matters which promote the greatest good of the greatest number, it is perfectly justified in doing so. For instance, if labour is being oppressed by the iniquitous treatment of capitalists, it is but right for the state to interevene and do justice to the

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poor by passing Factory legislation, Trade Union Bill and so on. Again if the people generally do not take real interest in bringing up their children, in their health, education—in a word in their well-being, the state should force them to do so, otherwise it will cease to be a state even, as a state is a "body-politic, a commonwealth, constituted for promoting the common veal of the people."

Paternal government by no means implies usurpation of the rights of the idividuals. A father does not cease to be a father, if the state takes fatherly interest in the general welfare of his sons and daughters. This idea has been beautifully expressed by the poet Kalidasa in the following couplet :—

प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्, रक्षणाद् भरणादपि ।
स पिता पितरस्तासां, केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥

'The parents of the people are only causes of their physical birth. The king is really their father in as much as he brings them up, protects them from enemies and administers justice to them.' This is a true conception of the paternal government.

It is wrong to connect the idea of unreasonable interfrence with that of paternal government. As it is possible for a father to err out of excess of affection to his children, so it is quite natural for a state to commit mistakes in its solicitude to take keen interest in the welfare of the people. But it does not mean that it should wash its hands off the whole affair and leave all matters to the people themselves. The state is there, to be the supreme judge of their actions. Really nothing can or should escape its notice. The state must take lively interest in all the doings of its members and especially see that they are making steady progress. We should confess that sometimes Indian monarchs interfered too much in affairs that were primarily the concern of individuals. We should also admit that democratic institutions, in the sense of a central re-

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presentative government, were not common in ancient India. Though there did exist units of village self-government in the country, it is very difficult to point to central legislative bodies such as the Parliament in England or the Congress in U. S. of America, which are based upon democratic principles. The kings had unlimited authority, no doubt, though they did consult their ministers and councils whose functions however, were simply advisory. It is unjust to say that people enjoyed in those times the same rights of franchise etc that they enjoy at present in many free, self-governing countries. To be fair, we should say that democratic principles were not evolved to that extent in ancient India, to which they are now in the age of popular Government. Nevertheless it is undeniably true that Indian monarchs in ancient times were far more benevolent, generous-hearted and liberty-loving than their contemporaries in any other part of the world. In other words they represented far more truly the essence of paternal government.

To cite a few instances, we shall produce evidences as to how Indian monarchs aimed at the general welfare of their people as if instinctively and how they strained every nerve to achieve the object in view. Perhaps some sceptics may see in their good intentions unreasonable and unwarranted interference with individual liberty. Bearing in mind the circumstances that prevailed in those times we should make allowance for mistakes that crept in.

We are fortunate in possessing a complete record of state affairs during the time of the great Maurya Chandra Gupta, viz. Kautilya Artha Shastra—a book more or less resembling Imperial Gazetteers of modern times. It gives elucidating information on the point. That Chandra Gupta was not an absolute monarch is proved by many authentic evidences. He was a Sachiva-ayatta (सचिवायत्त) king

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according to his own confession before Chanakya – his prime minister. ¶ There is also no doubt that the administration of various departments in that time was based on sound principles. There was no despotic rule in fact. Yet it is possible that the state might have indulged in uncalled-for intervention in personal matters.

Westerners may find occasion to object to the manner in which the people were shadowed by what may be termed the Criminal Investigation Department at that time. † They may also find fault with the Government's excessive control in the matter of wages and prices in the market. ‡ Further they may disapprove of too much interference in such individual concerns as marriages, religion and domestic life. * Many others may not even agree to the policy of protection that has been followed in the Kautilya's Artha Shastra. § But all these things, at the same time, indicate what paternal interest the state took in the general well-being of the people.

We can form some idea of how the people enjoyed benefits of good paternal government during the time of Chandra Gupta from the following extract which has been culled out from a long description of the Maurya-court by the famous greek ambassador Megasthenes: —

"Of the great officers of the state, some have the charge of market, others of the city, others of soldiers, some superintend the rivers, measure the lands as is done in Egypt and inspect sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an

¶ Mudra Rakshas Ch. iii.

† Artha Shastra Part I, Ch, xiii.

‡ Artha Shastra Part II, Ch, xvi.

* Artha Shastra Part III, Ch, i.

§ Artha Shastra Part II, Ch, xxii.

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equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of huntsmen and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land as those of wood-cutters, carpenters, blacksmiths and miners. They construct roads and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances."†

Then Megasthenes proceeds to describe the constitution of the well-known six boards of the city, performing various municipal functions, including the peculiar functions of entertaining the foreigners. "To those foreigners they (members of the boards) assign lodgings and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of persons they give them for assistants. They escort them on the way, when they leave the country, or in the event of dying, forward their property to their relatives. They tend them, when they are sick, and if they die, bury them."

To some this may sound perhaps too much paternal government but it is by no means an unpleasant aspect of the state. If the state can manage to look after the interests of foreigners in the bounds of its country, where is the harm in it ? This much is at least perfectly clear from the fore-going evidences that the Mauriya king had nothing but the real welfare of the people in view and he toiled and moiled, day and night, with only one intention viz. to do good to his countrymen. Therefore the following passage from Kautilya is quite intelligible to any one regarding the great Chandra Gupta's paternal government:—

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः, प्रजानां च हिते हितम्।
नात्मप्रियं प्रियं राज्ञः, प्रजानां तु प्रियं प्रियम्॥

India enshrines memories of many other great kings who felt themselves as fathers to their subjects and never failed

† Hindu India from Original Sources Part I Page 74.

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to do good to them. The names of Rama and Yudhistra need not be mentioned in this connection ; they really lived and died for the well-being of the state. Indeed they were incarnations of what is best and noblest in benevolent monarchy. History also records the great names of Ashoka and Harshvardhana. Ashoka was an ascetic on the throne whose very life was a sacrifice for the good government of the people. He was easily approachable by his people and in the discharge of his public duties he never grudged to give even his most valuable time. He had announced in an Edict that "at all hours and all places—whether I am dining or in the ladies' apartment, in my bed-room, or in my closet, in my carriage, or in the palace garden, the official reporters should report to me on the people's business and I am ready to do the people's business in all places." It is indeed a very sublime idea of the high duty of a king. It shows how fatherly interest can be developed in the affairs of his state by a well-meaning monarch.

Harshvardhana was also like Ashoka a royal monk. He too suprintended all the business of the state personally and was never tired of undertaking long tours in his vast dominion for the interest of the people. In a Ceylone inscription, we read that "he went on a tour of inspection through the three kingdoms of Ceylone, visiting villages, towns, cities, and places difficult to cross through water, hills, forests and marshes."

These illustrations will make it abundantly plain that the prestige of a king need not suffer, should he choose to take paternal interest in the affairs of the state. If he is a real benefactor of his people, he is sure to be respected and loved by them all the more. Similarly, it is wrong to suppose that the executive of a democratic government will lose its dignity, if it comes in direct touch with the people and tries to get first-hand knowledge of their grievances. Tradition preserves

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memories of many Indian kings like Bhoja, Vikramaditya, Ranjitsingh and others who went *incongnito* at night round the capital to ascertain personally the sufferings and sorrows of their subjects. During the time of unforeseen visitations like famine, floods, and epidemics, they personally visited the inflicted spots and rendered every possible help to the sufferers from their private and state resources. Less than a century ago we hear of Ranjit Singh of the Panjab, doling out rice and grain, with his own hands to the poor and the needy. How thankful would these poor people have been to their beloved monarch and how proud and great would have been the dignity of the ruler, for having come into direct touch with his people and having rendered help to them when they needed it most !

The state alone is the custodian of the interests of the poor and the helpless. Orphans and widows can look to none but the head of the government for protection and assistance. Katyayana, an ancient lawgiver of India writes :—

श्रोत्रियाः विधवाः बाला, दुर्बलाश्च कुटुम्बिनः ।
एते राजबला राज्ञा, रक्षणीयाः प्रयत्नतः ॥
अनाथस्य नृपोनाथः, अगृहस्य नृपो गृहम् ।
अपुत्रस्य नृपः पुत्रः, अपितुः पार्थिवः पिता ॥

"All Brahamans and house-holders, all widows and children, are like assets to the country and they must be protected by the state. A king is like a home to homless orphans, a child to childless parents. In fact he is father to all."

In conclusion the writer should repeat that there is nothing illogical in combining the two ideas of paternal and democratic governments. All that is meant here is that democracies can, without any danger of lowering their prestige or authority, develop fatherly interest in the well-being of the people and can render immense service to the poor and the needy by

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coming in contact with them. The more the spirit of paternity permeates the various departments of a government—whatever be its form—the greater will be the happiness of the governed and consequently the firmer the foundations on which the edifice of the state stands.

DAYANANDA GREATER THAN LUTHER

THE FALL OF THE OCCIDENT.

By T. L. Vaswani

Greater was he than my weak words may tell.

With reverence in my heart I bow to the matchless beauty of his *brahmacharya*, his *tapasya*, his singular fight for the truth as he perceived it.

Great was Luther. Dayananda, let me submit in all humility, was greater, in the message at once of his life and teachings.

Dayananda I revere as a son of *shakti*,—a mighty man of action,—and therefore one whom Young India should study to gather strength and inspiration for nation-building.

Lonely was his life,—lonely and attractive, lonely and valiant, lonely and heroic, lonely and divinely beautiful. May the day come soon when the Dayananda Anniversary may be celebrated throughout the length and breadth of India as a national festival!

For Dayananda was an ardent patriot; him I salute as a national hero. He preached abolition not merely of untouchability but also of caste. He advocated the claims of *swadeshi*, national language, and national education. He admitted barbers and others of the so-called "inferior" orders to his spiritual fellowship.

And did he not bear witness to Indian culture and Indian civilisation? Their basic principle is *brahmacharya*, not *bhoga*. Dayananda was the very incarnation of the ideal of *brahmacharya*. And he realised that

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at the heart of the truly Indian civilisation was the strength of a spiritual purpose. That made India a shrine of culture, a temple of humanity. That made *Aryavarta* a leader of the nations in the morning of history.

The life and teachings of Dayananda are fragrant with the message of the Rishi-age,—the message of an Indian India. It is the message we need today. For not in imitation but in self-realisation lies the true freedom of modern India. The historian of the future will speak of our century as the century of the Fall of the Occident. For India to imitate Europe would be to go further down the way of Fall.

Therefore I say to the young :— Shun the easy paths of imitation ! Be not disciples of the West ! Be creative ! And build a New India such as may be greater than she was even in the great days of Shri Rama and the Rishis of the Vedic Age !

———:*:———

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CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT REVIEWED

PLANETARY MOTIONS IN HINDU ASTRONOMY.

Sukumar Ranjan Das, in a contribution of his, appearing in *The Journal of Oriental Research*, rebuts the statement of Kaye that Hindu astronomy,—especially the methods used in it to calculate the motions of planets,—shows indication of Greek influence. Writes he :—

Aryabhata was the first Hindu astronomer who had correct notions of the planetary motions and made corrections in the system received by him from earlier sources, specially that of Parasara. Lalla followed his method. He ascribed to the epicycles, by which the motion of a planet is represented, a form varying from the circle and nearly ecliptic. The method followed in the old Surya Siddhanta included in the Pancasiddhantika of Varahamihira is different from that followed in the Aryabhatiya. The same method in its main principle is found in the present text of Surya Siddhanta. Brahmagupta's Khandakhadyaka, though known to have followed the Aryabhatiyam, exactly follows the old Surya Siddhanta in its methods of epicycles.

The Hindus had two methods for calculating the true place of a planet from its mean place, as determined by the rules of the Surya Siddhanta. One of these methods resembles that of Appollonius, with this difference, that whilst the planet moved uniformly in its epicycle, whose centre moved in the deferent concentric with the earth, the epicycle itself was conceived to be variable, circumference being greatest when the planet was in the Apsis (at apogee or perigee ; the true and mean places being then coincident), and least when the planet was at a distance of 90° from those points. The other method supposes that, whilst the mean place of a planet is a point moving uniformly eastward, round the circumference of a circle whose centre is the earth, the planet also moves uniformly eastward, in the same time, round the circumference of an equal, but eccentric circle, whose centre

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is situated in the line joining the Apogee with the centre of the earth, the distance from it being the eccentricity.

The methods employed by the Hindu astronomers are set forth in detail, from which the conclusion is drawn that ;

Hence we can conclude by saying that the Hindu methods of calculating the mean motions by means of epicycles and eccentrics are purely original inventions and are in no way influenced by the Greek methods.[1]

AN OLD FOOTPRINT.

Thus says 'Observer' in *The Theosophical Path* :

We are accustomed to see in our museums fossilized footprints of animals of early geological ages, dating from periods calculable by hundreds of millions of years ; in fact, several species are only known by their footprints, no bones having been found. But in regard to man the case is different, and so the report of the discovery of an immensely ancient human footprint in Cyprus, if authentic, may prove of great significance.

The report comes from that British possession in the Mediterranean and states that during the making of official series of pictures for the 'British Instructional Films' a fragment of rock was found on the top of Mount Hilarion, showing an impression exactly resembling the cavity such as would be made by withdrawing a man's foot from soft material, and the age of the rock is so great that geologists of the Natural History Museum, London, are reported to be of the opinion that the impression, if produced by man, would prove that humanity is many millions of years older than the most ancient human relic so far discovered, for the strata in question belong to the early part of the Tertiary Period, the Eocene, the beginning of the so-called 'Age of Mammals but not of Man.'

This is not the first puzzling object of somewhat similar nature that has come to light in recent years. Six years ago what appeared to be the petrified sole of a carefully made shoe with what looks like a double line of regular stitches round it was shown to several eminent scientists at Columbia University, etc. It was found in limestone of the Triassic period in the humboldt range, Nevada, and was therefore many millions

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1. Mr. G. R. Kaye is wrong in assuming Greek influence in an article published in J. A. S. B. No. XV, 1919.

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of years older than the Tertiary, and came from the Secondary or 'Age of Reptiles.'

The authorities declared that it could not possibly be of human manufacture because of its age, which might be two or three hundred million years, though "it was the most surprising imitation by nature of the workmanship of man which had ever come to their attention."

Others thought differently, and microscopic examination was made, but no satisfactory conclusion was reached. The reasonable suggestion was offered by those who saw the fossil as a product of human handi-work that there may be some serious miscalculation about the age of the rock in which it was found, and that it is really not so enormously ancient, though far older than any other trace of advanced humanity.

Another singular shoe-story was reported from Hawaii about the same time. The imprint of "a practically perfect Spanish shoe, with narrow toe, waist of the foot and heel being clearly defined" was found in the surface of an ancient lava flow near the ancient city of Refuge, Honaunau.

The city of Refuge was built in the eleventh century and there is no record of a lava flow from Mauna Loa in that direction since that date, yet the first tradition of Spaniards visiting the island does not go back farther than 1575. There is some mystery in this, not yet solved.

ORIGIN OF NUMERALS

The following fresh evidence is adduced by A.A. Kirshnaswamy Ayangar in support of his proposition that the use of what are called Arabic numerals originated with the Hindus:—

The early origin of the numerals must always remain obscure for two reasons :—

(1) The development of the notation has been very slow, extending over several centuries ; and there are no authentic histories available earlier than the commencement of the Muhammadan era, *i.e.*, 622 A.D., while there are evidences to show that the place-value notation in some form was current earlier than this date.

(2) The positional idea may have flashed in a moment truly divine inspiration to some unknown Hindu genius, who with his

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characteristic humility did not care to associate his name with it as its inventor but ascribed it to god.

Mr. G. R. Kaye is not tired of mocking at this Hindu trait (*vide* his article 'Old Indian Numerical Symbols' in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, p. 49, and his book *Indian Mathematics*, p. 31) and makes us understand that the earlier investigators on the subject of numerals were misled by the orthodox Brahmin opinion that 'the invention of the nine figures with the device of places to make them suffice for all values being ascribed to the beneficient Creator of the Universe' (quoted from Krishna's commentary of Bhaskara's *Lilavati—vide* Colebrooke's *Translation of the Lilavati*).

In an article entitled 'New Light on Our Numerals,' Mr. Ginsburg wrote, in 1917, "that our common numerals are of Hindu origin seems to be a well-established fact and that Europe received them from the Arabs seems equally certain but, how and when these numerals reached the Arabs is a question that has never been satisfactorily answered." A new light had been thrown on this question by Mr. M. F. Nau's publication in the *Journal Asiatique*, of an important fragment of Sebokht's writings in which there is a direct reference to the Hindu numerals. But Mr. Kaye has no faith in Nau's evidence (*vide* his *Indian Mathematics*, p. 31).

Severus Sebokht of Nisibus belonged to the second half of the seventh century and was a distinguished scholar in philosophy, mathematics and theology. He was the head of a convent in Nisibus, a great commercial centre and had numerous pupils through whom his knowledge could have been transmitted to other scholars all over Syria. Remembering that Syrian scholars were employed by the Caliphs as translators and educators we could easily understand how the Syrians could have imparted the knowledge of the Hindu numerals to the Arabs along with other facts relating to sciences. But how did Sebokht come to know of the Indian numerals? Since the exchange of goods and the exchange of ideas always went together, the trader and the traveller were busy agents in the transmission of numerals from the East to the West, and it is not unreasonable to surmise that in an important centre, like Nisibus, of a very extensive trade, different systems of numeration were known and attracted the attention of an intellectually alert man like Sebokht. Of the Hindu numerals, Sebokht speaks in the following high terms of praise :—

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"I will omit all discussions of the Science of the Hindus, a pepole not the same as the Syrians.....their valuable methods of calculation and their computing that surpasses description. I wish only to say that this computation is done by means of nine signs....."

DATE OF SANKHYA SUTRAS

T. R. Chintamani writes in *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras :—

The opinion current among orientalists regarding the date of the so-called Sankhya Pravacana Sutras is that it should be considered to be later than the author of the Sarvadarsana Sangraha for the obvious reason that he fails to mention that work. Omission cannot and should not always be regarded as a negative argument. It has been mentioned in the previous note that the Tattvasamasa though not referred to in the Sarvadarsana Sangraha, is still older. A similar statement may be made with regard to the Sankhya Pravacana Sutra also. If the author of the Sarvadarsan Sangraha dose not refer to it, a contemporary and a near kinsman of his refers to the Sutras and quotes one of those Sutras. Madhavamantrin, the famous commentator on the Sutasamhita quotes the following Sutra in his commentary on the Sutasamhita.

अत एव साङ्ख्यैरुच्यते
"सत्त्वरजस्तमोगुणानां साम्यावस्था मूलप्रकृतिः" इति ।

P. 407 of the Sutasamhita. Madras Edition.

Now this Sutra occurs as the 61st Sutra in the first adhyaya of the Sankhya Sutras which we have at present.

Madhavmantrin, pupil of Kriyasakti Pandita, the general of the first dynasty of the Vijayanagar Kings, should not be confounded with Madhavacharya, alias Vidyaranya, the famous commentator on the Vedas; he should be held distinct from Madhavacharya also, the author of the Sarvadarsana Sangraha. Madhavarya is the later of the three in point of time.

Madhavamantrin, Vidyaranya and Madhavarya belong to the same period and they were contemporaries.[1] Consequently there is no reason to regard the Sankhya Sutras, now available, to be later than the author of the Sarvadarsana Sangraha.

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1. *Vide* "Sources of Vijayanagara History" p. 51.

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THE NEW CHRSTIAN OUTLOOK.

The following is an extract from a speech reported in *Daily Telegraph* of Dr. Geoffrey Allen, delivered at the Modern Churchmen's Conference, which was held at Cambridge:—

There is no eternal damnation—such a belief is incompatible with the revelation in Christ of a God of Love. There is no future Grand Assize.

There is no reason to expect a return to earth of Jesus in the clouds of heaven. The spirit of Christ comes again wherever and whenever men turn to Him and let His Spirit of love reign in their hearts. The probable duration of the world exceeds imagination.

The Church should have the courage to create anew the Bible. *Large sections of the Old Testament might well be rejected; some sections preserved to show the growth* of the knowledge of God, and others have a place because they show the special sources of the inspiration of Jesus. To such a Bible might well be added extracts from the historical documents of other world religions.

Echoes of the purely Jewish creed are heard in the gloomy modern slogan. "Millions now living will never die." Popular religion is still disturbed by vague hopes and theories of the coming of the end of the World. Belief in eternal damnation has debased the Christian conception of God and proved an occasion of stumbling to sincere Christians.

HINDU MATHEMATICS.

A. A. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar quotes the following passages from the writings of Western scholars to show the ancient aptitude of Hindus for mathematical thought :—

The development of the science of language, especially grammar, is also unique in India and dates back to some centuries before the Christian era. Witness the magnificient edifice of Sanskrit grammar due to Panini, the greatest grammarian that the world has produced. In Albrecht Weber's words, 'Panini's Grammar is distinguished above all similar works of other countries, partly by its thoroughly exhaustive investigation of the roots of the language and the formation of words; partly by its sharp

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precision of expression....This is rendered possible by the employment of an algebraic terminology of arbitrary contrivance, the several parts of which stand to each other in the closest harmony, and which, by the very fact of its sufficing for all the phenomena which the language presents, bespeaks at once the marvellous ingenuity of its inventor and his profound penetration of the entire material of the language.' Here we have an indication of the remarkable aptitude of the Hindu mind for algebraic symbolism with its elegant conciseness, and this is well manifested in the *Dasagitika-sutra* of Aryabhata, which embodies the astronomical tables in a peculiar algebraic notation *(vide p. 20 supra)*.

Further, in one of the Buddhist sacred books, the *Lalitavistara*, the hero Buddha is made to give out a scheme of names for large numbers, which go as far as $\frac{42}{10}$ and which the hero is prepared to extend unto Mahakalpas by a scale of orders of infinity (असंख्या) 'which is the tale of all the drops that in 10,000 years would fall on all the world by daily rain.' This reminds us strongly of the sand-reckoner of Archimedes *(vide pp. 227-229. The work ef Archimedes,* by T. L. Heath. C. U.P. 1897)

When the Greeks could devise a sand-reckoner with their traditional names of numbers not extending beyond a myriad (*i.* e., 10,000), it is no wonder that the Hindus could think of big numbers when they had regular traditional names upto $\frac{35}{10}$. Again, surprises of genius are not uncommon in India. A Ramanujam in the twentieth century, without any proper training worth the name, was able to dream of problems which it had taken a hundred years for finest mathematicians of Europe to solve and of which the solution is incomplete even to-day (*vide Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society.* Vol. 19, second series). When such has been the case, is it difficult to believe that the sand-reckoner of Archimedes could have been anticipated by a genius like Buddha, who was destined in later years to preach a religion which, of all religions, has the greatest number of adherents and which has influenced the morals and given spiritual comfort to hundreds of millions ? (*Vide The Travels of Fahien,* translated by H. A. Giles, C. U. P., 1923.)

We may also mention that before the Christian era, there existed a tract on astronomy forming the sixth and the most important limb of the Vedas, which gives us an idea of the number work of those early ages *(vide* Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom,* pp. 144, 177), In a very early

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document of the Hindus, the Sulva-Sutras in which practical methods are devisd for the construction of altars to please the immortals, we find remarkable evidences of mathematical logic and acuteness displayed. It is specially noteworthy how our ancient Acharyas tackled the two kinds of irrationals and by rational approximations, impelled, as Thibaut admits, by the earnest desire to render their sacrifice in all its particulars acceptable to the gods and to deserve the boons which the gods confer in return upon faithful and conscientious worshippers.

All this implies a considerable advancement in arithmetic in very early times. Since the appearance of Mon. Schrœder's important work *Indiens Literatur and Cultur* (Leipzig,887), the old view due mainly to Cantor that Indians owe all their mathematics to the Greeks is getting superseded by the sounder opinion that Hindu geometrical theory and conception of irrationals, etc., are entirely original, despite the unwarranted insinuations of Mr. Kaye in his article 'The Source of Hindu Mathematics', *J. R. A. S.*, 1910.,

PHYSICS AND GOD.

The existence of God has sometimes beeen denied on the basis of revelations made by science. What science brings to light are, says Herbert Dingle in *The Hibbert Jounral*, 'relations', not things or beings. The latter are beyond the reach of physical science.

So far as physics is concerned, the one thing that we can at present say about the network is that it can be represented by numbers, real or imaginary. If all our observations were physical, our watchword might be, Back to Pythagoras. But it is not yet clear that all observations can be represented by physical concepts. In order to relate together such observations as the texture of a rock in the Fayum and an elephant in the Zoo, biology has introduced a hypothesis which is not so far demonstrably metrical in character. Nor are the events connected with the migration of birds, the division of cells, and the desire of the moth for the star certainly involved in a maze of numbers. We cannot yet assert that the whole round world is every way bound in a single connecting frame. But it does seem justifiable to extend to the scientific investigation of all events

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of the purely automatic type, such as those just mentioned, the view of the nature of scientific truth at which physics has been the first to arrive. In the organic as well as the inorganic world, the scientific method is capable of relating, but not of analysing, observations. Whatever spiritual reality may underlie the events of nature is eternally inaccessible to science.

There can thus be no direct collision between the idea of God and the demands of science. Any apparent clashing that may occur must involve false deductions from the basic principles of one or the other. Whether God be immanent or transcendent or illusory, He must remain for ever unilluminated by the scientific torch. The "single *alif*" which turns out to be the treasure-house is no clue to the Master.

Whenever science speaks in terms of unobserved existences, it is speaking in metaphor. The ultimate products of its analysis are not of the nature of thing which can be experienced, but of things which can be thought. Its truth is the truth of art, not that of philosophy, and certainly not the truth of which Pilate vainly sought the meaning. It is a fascinating task to trace the relations between science and art as alternative representations of nature, but to venture on it here would take us too far from the main point of this article. It is a subject for independent consideration.

Long ago the greatest of religious teachers declared that the kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Eighteen hundred years later, one of the greatest of scientists declared that he had no need of God on his hypothesis. It is possible to construe the first of these utterances as a condemnation of science by religion, and the second as a condemnation of religion by science, but to do so would be to obscure the vital fact that they are in obvious and perfect accord. We have now reached a much more advanced phase of the controversy between religion and science. Before prolonging a discussion which it is difficult to preserve from partiality and bitterness, might it not be well to see whether the opposing parties are not saying the same thing with differing balance of emphasis?

THE DIVINITY O FLABOUR

It is not simply physical relief that the labourer needs. The whole outlook of enlightened humanity on labour has

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to be changed. Labour is not beneath the dignity of an educated man seeking knowledge. It opens new vistas of observation and experience, through which the Lord of the universe, the source of all being, knowledge and bliss, *Sach-chid-ananda* manifests Himself. So writes W. R. Lethaby:—

We need to re-invent the world as real life, romance, and adventure, making and doing. Every department of activity has to be reinvestigated by intelligent men ; building, coal-getting, iron working, town and railway improving (what messes we have made of them) ; all the manufactures and crafts, down or up to scavenging, are fields, not only for investitation, but for adventure and life. It is too serious a matter to advise young men who have no resources, and must make their way in our few and repellent forms of money-getting or go under ; but probably no young man of independent means could do so well for himself or his country as to go for a time into one of the fields of labour, or one of the crafts, and what came of it. After six months he would be a marked man, after a year Cabinet Ministers might be asking his advice. This is not speaking idealistically and advising giving up of all and forsaking the world; rather it is suggesting that such forms of experience would open doors into a wider and more romantic world than banking, journalism, and our very civil services. Masonry, bricklaying, carpentry, house-painting, plumbing, have all to be renewed. Weaving and clothing, furniture-making, pottery cutlery need to be reinvestigated. Cradles, coffins and tombs have to be reformed. If, for instance, "hardware and hosiery" had been in the list of employments which I mentioned, they might have fired some minds that remained dull and dazed by the appeals of finance and the law. Intelligent young men entering into handicrafts, manufacture and trade might found movements valuable to England.

What should we, what shall we do ?

First of all we shall have to reconsider the great facts of labour in life. What has life to offer so universal and foundational, so interesting, dignified, and disciplining, so serviceable and generous as labour ?

Then we must all try to understand and reverence it in its existing forms, land-labour, coal-labour, transport–labour, all the activities of making and doing-

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We must give sympathy and praise to all manual workers, and when possible, encourage them by direct contact and employment. Labour must be seen as noble activity, social service and heroism on the one hand, and as skill and art on the other. Work and Joy must kiss one another. Recognition of labour has to be brought into every stage of education. We have to suggest the will to do, to make, to experiment. A flowing tide of production has to be induced. Thought of high quility—that is the notion of art—has to penetrate all forms of labour. We have to enter on a new impetus of creation. Education has to look outside the barrier of books and the maze of words, and to embrace the thought of making things and doing deeds. Even to consider the history of arts and inventions might influence some young people. The minds of the next generation must be bent towards making, experimenting and invention. Experiments in making should be brought into all schools right down to little efforts in infant classes, where the children might make their own toys. Every school and community should have periodical Arts and Crafts exhibitions. Our art schools have to be reformed into centres of actual production rather than for teaching "art in general" which is unknown in the real world. Alternating, seasonal, and overtime emlpoyments should be encouraged in every possible way. Some years ago a working man told me that what they most wanted really were workshops where they might gather to do repairs and little things for themselves—play workshops, in fact.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

Bodhi Dharma. *By T. L. Vaswani. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price As. 12.*

Vaswani's is a synthetic vision of India's spiritual life and message. Behind manifold variety of outward expression he finds essential unity at the core. The booklet under review is the latest contribution in this direction. As he himself writes in the introduction:—

The message of the Buddha, as I seek to interpret it in these pages, is not an *ism* but an attitude, not a creed but a view-point. Speculative systems were built up after Buddha passed away. But the Buddha himself offered the people not a speculative system but his own life-experiences. His whole being vibrated in sympathy with the people. He saw them suffer and wander in the dark. He called himself a "physician of the soul." He said he had "attained the Immortal." And he moved from town to town, from village to village with a message of the *Sukhadhama*, a message of the Realm of Joy, a message of the Light. "O, the benighted! should ye not search for a torch?"

आर्य्यपथिक ग्रन्थावलि. *Translated by Premasharama Pranata. Price Rs. 4. Bound Rs. 4/8/-.*

Two of the works of the late Pt. Lekh Ram, the great Arya Martyr, viz. *Early History of the World*, and *Evidences of Transmigration* have been included in this volume, which appears to be the first instalment of a Hindi rendering of the Martyr's writings—a promise of many more, as all the works of that learned and indefatigable protagonist of the Arya Samaja are too copious to be comprised in a volume or two. Written originally in Urdu, these books have, for the public which they could reach, been serving a very useful purpose. They cover

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a multiplicity of subjects, mostly polemical, but some also of a quite non-controversial character. To those interested in the comparative study of religions they are an inexhaustible mine of highly useful and most arduously collected information, part of which is the result of absolutely original research on the part of the author. That the present translation will place this valuable treasure within the reach of Hindi-knowing readers will be a source of satisfaction to all admirers of the martyr's zeal in the cause of religion and truth.

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EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

THE DECLINE OF THE WEST

The bankruptcy of modern civilization is self-evident. Even Spencer and Huxley, with all their optimism, derived from Darwinism and its wide applications, acknowledged this. Now constructive philosophy and original thinking have come into the field and are attempting to give a philosophical interpretation of this progressive degeneration. A remarkable book has made its appearance in Europe during the last decade. The author is Oswald Spengler. An English translation of this remarkable book has appeared only in 1926. About this epoch-making book G. P. Gooch says:—

"Of far greater intellectual significance than the writings of Keserling and Steiner is Spengler's massive treatise "The Decline of the West" the most important and influential work published in Germany during the last decade. The strength and erudition of the book must strike every reader and its bold generalisation stimulate reflection even if they do not always convince."

We give below a few extracts from this remarkable publication in order to show to those, who are for mimicking the West, in what direction the highest modern thought in the occident is moving. Says the gifted writer in the Introduction:—

Systematic philosophy closes with the end of the 18th Century. Kant put its utmost possibilities in forms both grand in themselves and—as a rule—final for the Western soul. He is followed, as Plato and Aristotle were followed, by a specifically megalopolitan philosophy that was not speculative but practical, irreligious, social-ethical. This philosophy—paralleled in the Chinese civilization by the schools of the "Epicurean" Yang chu, the "Socialist" Mo-ti, the "pessimist" Chuang-tsu, the "Positivist" Mencius, and in the Classical by the Cynics, the Cyrenaics, the Stoics

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and the Epicureans—begins in the West with Schopenhauer, who is the first to make the *Will* to *life* ("creative life force") the centre of gravity of his thought, although the deeper tendency of his doctrine is obscured by his having, under the influence of a great, tradition, maintained the obsolete distinctions of phenomena and things-in-themselves and suchlike. It is the same creative will-to-life that was Schopenhauer-wise denied in "Tristan" and Darwin-wise asserted in "Siegfried" ; that was brilliantly and theatrically formulated by Nietzsche in "Zarathustra"; that led the Hegelian Marx to an economic and the Malthusian Darwin to a biological hypothesis which together have subtly transformed the world-outlook of the Western megalopolis ; and that produced a homogeneous series of tragedy-conceptions extending from Hebbel's "Judith" to Ibsen's "Epilogue." It has embraced, therefore, all the possibilities of a true philosophy—and at the same time it has exhausted them.

Systematic philosophy, then, lies immensely far behind us, and ethical has been wound up. *But a third possibility, corresponding to the Classical Scepticism, still remains to the soul-world* of the present-day West, and it can be brought to light by the hitherto unknown methods of historical morphology. That which is a possibility is a necessity. The Classical scepticism is ahistoric, it doubts by denying outright. But that of the West, if it is an inward necessity, a symbol of the autumn of our spirituality, is obliged to be historical through and through. Its solutions are got by treating everything as relative, as a historical phenomenon, and its procedure is psychological. Whereas the Sceptic philosophy arose within Hellenism as the negation of philosophy—declaring philosophy to be purposeless—we, on the contrary, regard the *history of philosophy* as, in the last resort, philosophy's gravest theme. This *is* "skepsis," in the true sense, for whereas the Greek is led to renounce absolute standpoints by contempt for the intellectual past, we are led to do so by comprehension of that past as an organism.

Again we read :—

Save in so far as the belated Romanticist in him has determined the style, sound and attitude of his philosophy, Nietzsche in every respect a disciple of the materialistic decades. That which drew him with such passion to Schopenhauer was (not that he himself or anyone else was conscious of it) that element of Schopenhauer's doctrine by which he destroyed the great metaphysic and (without meaning to do so) parodied

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his master Kant ; that is to say, the modification of all deep ideas of the Baroque age into tangible and mechanistic notions. Kant speaks in inadequate words, which hide a mighty and scarcely apprehensible intuition, an intuition of the world as appearance or phenomenon. In Schopenhauer this becomes the world as brain-phenomenon (Gehirnphanomen). The change-over from tragic philosophy to philosophical plebeianism is complete. It will be enough to cite one passage. In "The World as Will and Idea" Schopenhauer says: "The will, as thing-in-itself, constitutes the inner, true and indestructible essence of the man ; in itself, how-ever, it is without consciousness. For the consciousness is conditioned by the intellect and this is a mere accident of our being, since it is a function of the brain, and that again (with its dependent nerves and spinal cord) is a mere fruit, a product, nay, even a parasite of the rest of the organism, inasmuch as it does not intervene directly in the latter's activities but only serves a purpose of self-preservation by regulating its relations with the outer world." Here we have exactly the fundamental position of the flattest materialism. It was not for nothing that Schopenhauer, like Roussean before him, studied the English sensualists. From them he learned to misread Kant in the spirit of megalopolitan utilitarian modernity. The intellect as instrument of the will-to-life,[1] as weapon in the struggle for existence, the ideas brought to grotesque expression by Shaw in "Man and Superman"—it was because this was his view of the world that Schopenhauer became the fashionable philosopher when Darwin's main work was published in 1859. In contrast to Schelling Hegel and Fichte, he was a philosopher, and the only philospher, whose metaphysical propositions could be absorbed with ease by intellectual mediocrity. The clarity of which he was so proud threatened at every moment to reveal itself as triviality. While retaining enough of formula to produce an atmosphere of profundity and exclusiveness, he presented the civilized view of the world complete and assimilable. His system is *anticipated Darwinism*, and the speech of Kant and the concepts of the Indians are simply clothing. In his book "Ueber den Willen in der Natur" (1835) we find already the struggle for self-preservation in Nature, the human intellect as master-weapon in that

1 Even the modern idea that unconscious and impulsive acts of life are completely efficient, while intellect can only bungle, to be found in Schopenhaner (Vol. II, cap. 30).

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struggle and sexual love as unconscious selection according to biological interest.[1]

It is the view that Darwin (via Malthus) brought to bear with irresistible success in the field of zoology. The economic origin of Darwinism is shown by the fact that the system deduced from the similarities between men and the higher animals ceases to fit even at the level of the plant-world and becomes positively absurd as soon as it is seriously attempted to apply it with its will tendency (natural selection, mimicry) to primitive organic forms.[2] Proof, to the Darwinian, means to the ordering and pictorial presentation of a selection of facts so that they conform to his historico-dynamic basic feeling of "Evolution." Darwinism—that is to say, that totality of very varied and discrepant ideas, in which the common factor is merely the application of the causality principle to living things, which thereforo is a *method and not a result*—was known in all details to the 18th Century. Rousseau was championing the ape-man theory as early as 1754. What Darwin originated is only the "Manchester School" system, and it is this *latent political element in it that accounts for its popularity*.

The spiritual unity of the century is manifest enough here. From Schopenhauer to Shaw, everyone has been, without being aware of it, bringing the same principle into form. Everyone (including even those who, like Hebbel, knew nothing of Darwin) is a derivative of the evolution-idea—and of the shallow civilized and not the deep Goethian form it at that—whether he issues it with a biological or an economic imprint. There is evolution, too, in the evolution-idea itself, which is Faustian through and through, which displays (in sharpest contrast to Aristotle's timeless entelechy-idea) all our passionate urgency towards infinite future, our *will* and sense of *aim* which is so immanent in, so specific to, the Faustian spirit as to be the *a priori* form rather than the discovered principle of our Nature-picture. And in the evolution of evolution we find the same change taking place as elsewhere, the turn of the Culture to the Civilization. In Goethe evolution is upright, in

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1 In the chapter "Zur Metaphysik der Geschlechtsliebe" (II, 44) the Idea of natural selection for the preservation of the genus is anticipated in full.

2 See Vol. II, pp. 36 et seq.

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Darwin it is flat ; in Goethe organic, in Darwin mechanical ; in Goethe an experience and emblem, in Darwin a matter of cognition and law. To Goethe evolution meant inward fulfilment, to Darwin it meant "Progress." Darwin's struggle for existence, which he read *into* Nature and not out of it, is only the plebeian form of that primary feeling which in Shakespeare's tragedies moves the great realities against one another ; but what Shakespeare inwardly saw, felt and actualized in his figures as destiny, Darwinism comprehends as causal connexion and formulates as a superficial system of utilities. And it is this system and not this primary feeling that is the basis of the utterances of "Zarathustra," the tragedy of "Ghosts," the problems of the "Ring of the Nibelungs." Only, it was with terror that Schopenhauer, the first of his line, perceived what his own knowledge meant—that is the root of his pessimism, and the "Tristan" music of his adherent Wagner is its highest expression—whereas the late men, and foremost among them Nietzsche, face it with enthusiasm, though it is true, the enthusiasm is sometimes rather forced.

Comments upon this are superfluous.

A SIGNIFICANT ADMISSION.

Imitation, says a great writer, is death. Assimilation, however, is different. What you assimilate becomes a part and parcel of yourself. On the contrary what you imitate remains an excrescence and only generates irritation and produces symptoms of mal-adjustment and mal-nutrition. All cultures are, in part, based upon climatic conditions of the land of their origin and are rooted in past traditions which derive their vitality from the peculiar physical, mental and sociological environment in the midst of which they flourish. The forms of every culture are the outward symbol of all these factors which give it a shape. To this category belong dress, social customs, festivals, etiquette and modes of living. These reveal the soul of the culture, the conception underlying it and the dominant purpose that permeates it. When a nation surrenders its culture and suffers social and intellectual conquest, it is doomed and its freedom, political and cultural, is gone for ever.

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This the European nations, that are out to "civilize" Eastern nations, realize full well. They " civilize " other people because the more " civilized " is a nation in this respect, the less resistance it offers to economic exploitation and cultural servitude and its necessary corrollary, political bondage. The following quotation from "The Conflict of Colour" by Wearle tells its own tale and is, in a way, a significant admission.

"The future of the negro in America, of the native in Madagascar, in the Philipines, in the countless islands of the Atlantic and the Pacific, cannot affect the progress of the world very materially. Here the man of color if he is not "cribled cabined" is at least so situated that *the white man can and will effectively control him. In all these cases the black man has been either for longer or shorter periods the obedient follower of the white man. He has been the white man's imitation, his benchman. He may rebel, but he cannot bring about a great and abiding revolution in the relations between the races.....,*

The italics are ours.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

The British Govt. in India, led by Thomas Babington Macaulay, whose terrible minute on eductaion is a memorable attempt to denationalise India, did their best so to educate the youth of India as to completely sever them from their past, to poison the springs of inspiration and to breed them in an atmosphere redolent of scorn for the glories of their ancestors and of despair for the future of their race.

It is a significant sign of the times that even western educationists, who have been bred in the bureaucratic atmosphere, are beginning to realize that this system of education, which was inaugurated from non-educational motives, is proving a dismal failure.

Mr. Arthur Mayhew C. I. E., who was at one time Director of Public Instruction in the C. P, has only recently written a book entitled "The Education of India". In that book he

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makes certain striking admissions regarding Macaulay's policy. He says:—

We have discussed so far the aims of the Government and their practicability with reference to the characteristics of the originators, executive agents, and beneficiaries of the policy. Methods and machinery have been referred to only incidentally but must now be investigated in their bearing on the policy. Here we enter the sphere of the educationalist proper. It is deeply to be regretted that the psychological and anthropological principles on which educational method must be based though familiar to Plato and never completely lost sight of since his time, were not clearly established nor defined in 1835. As an educational administrator and chairman of the Committee of Instruction, setting the type of educational method for many a long-year, Macaulay was far more disastrously important than as a Member of Council driving the last nail home in the coffin of the Orientalists. For any "subjects," whether oriental or western, were likely to be ineffective if utilised in real ignorance of the nature of the mind of man and of the forms of civilisation which are its expression. It was a colossal misfortune for India that our system of education was initiated by one who, in the opinion of Lord Acton, "knew nothing respectably before the seventeenth century, nothing of foreign history, religion, philosophy, science or art".

Civilisation is a growth, and like all other forms of growth gradual. It may grow naturally out of national or communal life from seed not planted by any concious or purposive external agent. If it is to be transplanted and raised in foreign soil, it must from seed rather than cutings, and in any case not by the importation of full-grown products. The nature of the soil and climate must be studied and the soil treated and dressed with the same care that guides the selection of the seed.

All this which is commonplace to day was forgotten or obscured in Macaulay's time. He was so immersed in the selection of seed, arther potted plants in the shape of lists of library and prize books for Indian schools, that he ignored the soil. Rich though he was in metaphor, he never compared England's task as defined by him with the development of a trim English garden out of the tangled growth of a tropical forest. If he had done so he would have postponed his order for geraniums, or anyhow the planting of them in the untouched forest. And he would have encouraged those who were to enjoy the garden to explore the recesses and realise the inconveniences of their tropical forest, and even to make clearings here

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and there to expose the soil to investigation and wholesome influence of air and sunlight.

Regarding non-official educational experiments, the writer says :—

It was a lofty and inspiring ideal, resembling strangely in some respect the educational dreams of Plato. That it was even partially realised in the golden ages of Hinduism, between 200 B.C. and A.D. 650 under Asoka, the Gupta, and the Harsha dynasties, cannot perhaps be proved. There were certainly great educational centres, such as Taxila and Ujjain, or later Kanouj, Benares and Navadwip, thriving under royal protection and patronage. And whether approximation to the ideal guru and asramic course was common or rare, it is certain and significant that it is to this type of education, this vitally close relation between guru and pupil, this proud assertion of the gurus, status and rights, that the thoughts and aspirations of the best minds in India turn when wearied and disappointed by the dull impersonal unreality of our system. It is pitiably true that the "national" but ephemeral institutions opened for the "benefit" of those whome the non-co-operation movement drew from our schools and colleges in 1920-21 were for the most part grotesque caricatures of the government system, with a course animated by the gospel of hate instead of the gospel of getting on. But these owed their rise and fall to men blinded by racial and political bitterness to all vital educational issues. Mahatma Gandhi in his earlier and greater days would have seen more clearly and moved more resolutely to what was once his goal, spiritual regeneration. But his energies were being devoted to less educational and constructive work. To realise the continuance of the old traditions and ideals and their vitalising, though a present necessarily restricted, force, we must visit and appreciate the work attempted at Hardwar by men whom a recent Governor of the united Provinces described as "a band ef ascetics, devoted to their duty, following the traditions of the Rishis" with no salaries, but with very definite aspirations, or we must study Rabindranath Tagore's nascent University, Shantiniketan, the "house of peace" at Bolpur, where in an atmosphere far remote from towns and controversy "success is measured essentially by the spiritual growth of the teachers," and where the conviction of the place, the daily acts of worship and the vaguely defined but keenly felt influence of a secluded life on the wooded uplands, bind together teachers and taught in a real and living unity.

THE EVIL OF MEAT-EATING.

The following extract from the *Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* will be found of interest by the reader :—

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The question of vegetarianism is not a mere matter of ethics in eating or of cultish observance. The nonflesh diet has its actual arguments for health safety. Meat-eating is attended by dangers that are real, and the meat-eater should know that he runs a risk.

The prevalence of disease in animals is so generally understood that the advocate of vegetarianism has to lose no time in proving that point. The many laws of meat inspection are witness enough for the existence of diseased animals. The presence of animal diseases should be a warning in itself.

In the inadequate inspection of animals killed for food, many slip by to the slaughtering pen that ought to be condemned as wholly unfit for food. If left alone a little longer, some of these would soone die of disease.

There is a certain degree of safety in the thorough cooking of meat. Disease germs and their products may be rendered harmless as far as immediate and direct causes of disease are concerned. But no kind of cooking can transform diseased flesh into wholesome food. No culinary act can put food elements and health into a thing. And, in almost all cases, meat is not cooked with a view to eliminating its harmful properties but rather to bring out its "meaty" flavours, which flavours are in the extractives of the flesh, and which extractives contain the animal poisons in process of elimination.

The immediate danger of disease from eating the flesh of unhealthy animals is not the only thing the meat-eater needs to consider. The extra work placed upon the eliminative organs in caring for the wastes and poisons of a flesh diet, is conducive to disease of the organs. A flesh diet will in time tell against the health. Taking all the facts into consideration as to the value of a nonflesh diet and the risks of eating meat, it is well worth while to regard vegetarianism as more than a fad.

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The Governor, Gurukula Kangri, writes :—

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